DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 316 699 CE 054 342

AUTHOR Koefoed, Else
TITLE Vocational Training of Young Migrants in Denmark.
INSTITUTION European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin (West Germany).
REPORT NO ISBN-92-825-6115-1
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 119p.; Statistical tables have broken or filled type. Figure 3.6 is illegible.
AVAILABLE FROM UNIPUB, 4661-F Assembly Drive, Lanham, MD 20706-4391 (Catalogue No. HX-45-85-026-EN-C, $4.00).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Dropout Characteristics; Dropouts; *Education Work Relationship; Elementary Secondary Education; *Employment Problems; Family Influence; Family Status; Foreign Countries; Job Training; Migrant Children; *Migrant Education; Migrant Employment; *Migrant Problems; Migrants; *Migrant Youth; Minority Groups; Multicultural Education; Second Language Instruction; Student Mobility; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS *Denmark

ABSTRACT

A study looked at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, and analyzed such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the situation in Denmark. The study identified the following problem areas: (1) problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers and (2) problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between success at school, success in vocational training, success in employment, and access to the labor market. Analysis of the data suggested some conclusions among them: (1) there have been signs recently of an official readiness to acknowledge that the immigrants are not merely "guest workers" but form a more permanent part of the population in Denmark and that a need exists for more systematic treatment of the problems of immigrants; (2) the official Danish policy is of integration; (3) projects have been started to teach Danish as a foreign language; (4) efforts are being made to train immigrants as primary-school teachers to teach in the immigrants' language and help them preserve their culture; (5) changes must be made in Danish attitudes--they had been thought to be tolerant but that may have been true only because immigrants were so few; and (6) expected increases in immigrants for the next 20 years demand planning for education and employment. (Bibliography includes 8 legislative references, 4 journals, and 17 Danish references with English annotations.) (KC)

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Vocational training of young migrants in Denmark

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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Vocational training of young migrants in Denmark

Else Koefoed
Statens Erhvervspædagogiske Læreruddannelse/ National Vocational Teacher Training Centre, Copenhagen

First edition, Berlin 1986

Published by:

CEDEFOP — European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**
Tel. (0 30) 88 41 20 Telex 184 163 eucen d

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) Nc 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities

This publication is also available in the following languages:

DA ISBN 92-825-6113-5
DE ISBN 92-825-6114-3
FR ISBN 92-825-6116-X

Cataloguing can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1986

ISBN 92-825-6115-1

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-026-EN-C

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Printed in the FR of Germany

CEDEFOP

This study
was drawn up by Else Koefoed
on behalf of CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin 1985

This study was undertaken jointly by the Statens Erhvervspædagogiske Læreruddannelse (National Vocational Teacher Training Centre) - Copenhagen.
Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on
"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

Published by :

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**, tel. : (030)884 12-0

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) N° 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities.

All the monographies are available in the following languages :
FRANCE (DE, EN, FR, IT)
BELGIUM (DE, EN, FR, IT)
LUXEMBOURG (DE, EN, FR, IT)
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PREFACE

Young people of foreign origin, second generation youngsters, young immigrants: the diversity of terms that can be used is indicative of the problems of defining such complex and varied realities which are so dependent on social, historical, environmental, emotional and conjunctural factors that they cannot be explained by macrosocial analysis. We should first state our conviction that there is no such thing as "young immigrants", or at least not in the sense of a clearly definable, homogeneous grouping, a factor which imposes inevitable limits on a study which, like ours, aims at understanding an extremely complex and diversified situation.

These youngsters constitute a fairly consistent notional population within the European Community. Little is known about them: their position in the environment of school, training and employment, their aspirations and their problems. There are few statistics in any country and what information is available is either at such an aggregate level as to be of little value or else so localized that it cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. Yet knowledge of the problem is a prerequisite for any attempt to seek a solution.

In the light of these considerations, CEDEFOP embarked on a joint primary research project with the Berlin Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB) on the situation of young migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. For anyone wishing to gain a greater insight into the situation, as far as we are aware, this is still the only material available for the Federal Republic as a whole. The research findings encouraged CEDEFOP to undertake secondary investigations to determine how much was known about the problem in other host countries within the Community: Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. This report forms part of a series of monographs which are the product of this secondary research.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Even though the national monographs are too specific for any comparisons or aggregation, it is surprising to find that they do all point to very similar, if not identical, problem areas.

- Problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers;

- Problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between
  - success at school
  - success in vocational training
  - success in employment
  - access to the labour market.

An analysis of the monographs confirms the existence of close links between the various problem zones, converging to a central point which could be termed the "level of cultural, social and vocational integration". From a scientific point of view, it would be wrong to attempt a comparison of these problem zones on the basis of the monographs, as these are solely the product of an intelligent review of existing documents and other data (identified, collected and collated, from many different sources and with some considerable effort).

Accordingly, we consider it expedient to give the readers of these monographs a number of "general impressions" we have obtained from a review of all the monographs.

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

Family composition (e.g. a mixed marriage between a national and a non-national) and, more important, its socio-cultural category play a significant part in a young person's school career and academic success there. At least until the end of a youngster's education and training, the family remains not only a "sanctuary" but also the dominant cultural and

behavioural influence. The dominant but not the only influence, for the youngster will, from his early socialization in the school environment, be constantly trying to reconcile the different cultural models offered by the family and the host society. In this process of reconciliation there is an obvious risk of loss of cultural identity.

There is, nevertheless, a whole series of interacting and mutually reinforcing determinants that has a significant effect on the educational life chances of young children:

1. Knowledge of the host language(s): all the national monographs show that lack of linguistic competence in the language(s) of the host country has a determining influence on academic performance. In Luxembourg, for example, proficiency in three languages is necessary: Luxembourgish as the vernacular, German in primary school, switching to French in secondary school.
"A lack of knowledge of French and language learning difficulties are obviously an initial handicap which has repercussions at every level of educational and social integration". (3)

In Denmark, "the term foreign language national is used more commonly than immigrant" and "this language barrier may continue even after immigrants have become Danish citizens..." (2)

"The ability of foreigners to express themselves in writing in the German language is far below standard". (5)

2. Time of arrival in the host country: the monographs agree that "late arrivals" usually encounter problems with assimilation, resulting in academic failure in their first year at school and having to stay down in the same year once or even more.

3. Pre-school attendance: the number of foreign two- to three-year-olds attending pre-school units is disproportionately low. When the children do take part, these activities have a beneficial effect on their future schooling. In Denmark (1980),

for example, only 39% of foreign children in the 2-3 age group attended play school. The percentage is slightly higher in Germany and France.

There is, however, a general feeling that experimental schemes promoted and guided by the European Commission in pursuance of the Council directive on the schooling of migrant workers' children (+) might help to reduce academic failure by creating an awareness that there may be a multicultural society. The Danish report is quite explicit on this point.

Drop-out and failure rates in primary education differ in the various contexts studied, but there is a general consensus that after primary education, there is a substantial decline in the number of children of foreign extraction attending general, technical and vocational education. The more advanced the level of education, the fewer the immigrants. Even allowing for the small number of young nationals who go on to further education, immigrant pupils are markedly under-represented.

Despite the fact that this analysis is based on a number of different contexts and situations, in this sphere it points to a series of common factors:

- a lack of motivation for staying on in education, due to academic failure or low achievement;
- family pressure on children to leave school early and find a job;
- career guidance, often based on aptitude tests which do not allow for differences in the individuals being tested, with the result that youngsters are too readily directed towards "practical activities" or the less "demanding" subject options at school;
- spatial segregation, leading (as all the monographs show) to the creation of a "ghetto", which also has a negative effect on the learning of the host language and, at a more general level, on integration into society and the more specific environment of school.

(+) Directive: Official Journal No. L 30, 6.8.1977

SCHOOL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

By the time these young people reach the minimum school leaving age, there are far fewer opportunities open to them. In Germany, the certificate that marks the end of compulsory education is a requirement for admission to vocational education under the dual system, and even when there is no such formal impediment, access to vocational education is conditional on success at school. The future prospects of foreign youngsters both in training and on the job market are, in fact, dependent on their performance at school, one of the reasons why the Community has made this basic problem area a priority.

"The majority of research findings confirm that the key factor in the integration of young people of foreign origin is their schooling" (3).

"Immigrant youngsters remain in education until the age of 15 because it is compulsory, but then they are excluded from all branches of education" (4).

"The reason why a pupil who has to repeat years at school is bound to be an "under-user" of the educational facilities available is that academic failure has a strong influence on guidance given by the family..." (1).

So failure leads to failure. Most of these young people come onto the labour market at an early age and try, not without difficulty, to find work in areas which demand little or no skill. By contrast, it is mainly youngsters who have had a "normal" school career who move on to vocational education within the conventional education system (technical and vocational schools) or an officially recognized training system.

The obstacle race continues, however. Here too, the same old discriminating factors influence selection and, even by comparison with nationals of the same social stratum, the number of youngsters of foreign origin is disproportionately low.

One determining factor is knowledge of the host language: "When you realize that almost all teaching, particularly in technical education, is done through the medium of German, you can readily imagine the difficulties confronting children of foreign workers, even if the children were born in Luxembourg. They have to be proficient in four languages" (4).

One factor which prevents the youngsters from entering vocational training is "primarily, the need to earn immediately" (5). The major obstacle in all the context investigated, however, is the failure of vocational training systems to cater for the specific needs of groups of foreign youngsters, including those who, as in the United Kingdom, are not so much foreign as from "ethnic minorities" (6).

It is a known fact that the dominant culture of any country tends to undermine, if not completely suppress, minority cultures. This applies not only to immigrants but also to peasant and working class cultures. Modern technological and occupational culture and the systems which support it are created by and for the indigenous population.

The inability or unwillingness to adapt educational systems to the specific needs of groups who make demands of the systems and look for a response leads to the last resort of compensatory measures, or perhaps one should call them precautions. Measures of this kind are often taken for "underprivileged groups" in general rather than specifically for young immigrants. In Denmark, for example:

"Danish legislation provides support for handicapped youngsters within the framework of vocational training. And language difficulties count as a handicap ..." (2).

Large numbers of these young people attend "supplementary classes" in Luxembourg, "youth schools" in Denmark, "pre-vocational courses" or "local missions" in France and "social advancement" courses in Belgium. It is also not unusual for

parallel systems of education to be set up to cater for the needs of foreign youngsters by their own national authorities and, being an alternative to "non-training", to an extent they attract drop-outs from the conventional educational and training systems in the host countries.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The transition from training to employment might be more accurately expressed as a transition from "non-training" to shrinking labour markets. The introduction of new technology into industry is steadily reducing the number of repetitive, low-skill, manual jobs formerly done by "first generation" immigrants brought in to contribute to the economic growth of industrialized countries.

An additional factor is that immigrant labour is concentrated in declining or threatened areas of employment like the steel and building industries.

The pressure exerted on youngsters by family, school and careers advisers to find employment at an early age has already been mentioned. When they do find work, though, it is usually in unskilled jobs, so that their lack of training is parallelled and aggravated by a lack of useful work experience.

"...immigrants will never achieve cultural or social assimilation so long as they are segregated on the fringes of the working world " (1).

There seems to be no great discrepancy between the numbers of young nationals and non-nationals without jobs. In France, in fact, unemployment trends appear to be developing along exactly the same lines. It is in the quality of employment rather than quantity that there seems to be an appreciable gap.

Foreign young people tend predominantly to be employed in manual or unskilled jobs. One wonders whether the present generation is not merely reproducing the pattern of its predecessors, with the added problem of an overall decline in the number of jobs available.

AREAS OF INVESTMENT

This brief examination of some of the problem areas which affect the future of young people of foreign origin inevitably touches only on the surface; no original discoveries can be claimed and no new proposals can be made. Nevertheless, we feel that attention might well be drawn to certain areas in which it would be worth investing research and positive action:

1. Too little is known about these young people's situations and problems and the statistical information available is non-existent, fragmentary or contradictory. There is an evident need for a major investment in research on the wide variety of situations encountered in this particular group of young people and the individual connotations.

2. Recognition of the undoubted fact that it is at school that the future of the youngsters in society and the working world is determined should point to a clearer definition of how to mobilize immigrant leaders, employers, unions, the authorities and families to ensure that they give maximum support for schemes set up by the European Commission in pursuance of the directive on "the schooling of the children of migrant workers".

3. The ability of vocational training systems to adjust to the specific needs of foreign youngsters and, more generally, underprivileged youth as a whole is a far-reaching social challenge. We need to understand where and how adjustments can be made without having to resort to remedial measures that are not very effective and that segregate the recipients even more.

4. Teaching of the host country's language or languages is still a challenge in terms of teaching methods and aids, the imparting of greater motivation and a commitment in the community at large.

5. The lack of information and the shortcomings of educational and vocational guidance point to the need for a greater understanding and a clearer definition of methods of stimulating interaction and integration amongst teachers, counsellors, families and the community.

6. Finally, there is a clear need for positive measures to make it easier for foreign youngsters to gain access to vocational training, and to support while they are training.

Duccio Guerra
CEDEFOP

NOTES

The quotations in this article have been taken from reports on the training situation of youngsters of foreign origin in

1. Belgium[+]
2. Denmark[+]
3. France[+]
4. Luxembourg[+]
5. Federal Republic of Germany[++]
6. United Kingdom[+]

[+] monographs will soon be available in French, English and German (also summary reports in Danish, Italian and Dutch)

[++] research report published in French, English and German

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to provide a survey of the immigrant situation in Denmark, with special reference to the young immigrants and their vocational training.

Lay-out

In the lay-out of the report I have tried as far as possible to follow the arrangement laid down by CEDEFOP, with a view to facilitating both parallel reading of the various national reports and subsequent compilation of a joint European consolidated report.

Background

The first report was compiled by Denmark in 1982. This was "Andengenerationsindvandrere i Danmark - specielt med henblik på deres erhvervsuddannelse" (Second-generation immigrants in Denmark - with special reference to their vocational training), by Else and Oleg Kofoed. The present report is based upon results of this study, but has been revised and not merely updated. The reason for this is primarily that only recently has the immigrant problem become the subject of wider interest in Denmark; at the beginning of 1982, therefore, information was lacking in a number of areas where information is available today. However, it is also due to the fact that I now have better understanding of what kind of information can be of interest in the European context.

Definition and scope

In a report such as this, it is essential to define what one understands by "immigrants". No single, common definition exists in Denmark; but I shall use here the definition normally used in Sweden, which is used also in a report from "Statens samfundsvidenskabelige Forskningsråd" (National Council for Sociological Research) (15) concerning research on immigrants in Denmark. By "immigrant" is understood in this latter report any person who is permanently resident in Denmark and was born abroad, or whose father or mother or both parents were born abroad.

This definition does not match the statistical information that is based upon foreign nationals. However, the definition was chosen as the basis for the present report because the problems of training and work that are associated with immigrants obviously do not cease on the day when they acquire Danish citizenship.

The training problems are greatest where remote nationalities are involved and this report will therefore concentrate primarily upon immigrants from third (non-North American,Nordic or EC)countries.

Statistical sources

Regarding statistical material, extremely little material was available in 1981-82, when my first report was completed; but the situation is different today. The immigration office

which was established under the Ministry for Home Affairs drew up in 1983 a comprehensive statistical summary of the immigration situation, and the present report is therefore based almost exclusively upon this review in the statistical sphere.

However, it is still impossible to find more detailed statistical information on a number of points. This can be explained partly by a prevailing attitude towards immigration problems to the effect that immigrants must be treated "on an equal footing" with Danes and must therefore not appear as a special category.

Bibliography

A large number of reports, books and articles were read in connection with the compilation of the report. In the bibliography at the end of the report,only works from which information has been incorporated directly in the report have been included. A number in brackets appearing in different places in the text refers to one of the numbered items in the bibliography.

2. GENERAL REMARKS ON IMMIGRANTS IN DENMARK

Denmark has only limited experience as a country of immigration. Foreign labour did not begin to be used more generally until 1967.

The waves of immigration that had taken place earlier included broadly the following:

- Polish agricultural workers in the years 1893-1929 for employment in sugarbeet-cultivation on Lolland, of whom about 5 000 became permanently resident.
- Jews from Russia and the Baltic states in the beginning of the 20th century (approx. 3 000).
- Jews escaping from Nazi persecution in Germany and Austria in the 1930's.
- Hungarian refugees,after the uprising in Hungary in 1956 (approx. 1 400).

In more recent years, chiefly after 1967, immigration into Denmark has embraced three categories:

- Foreigners who came here in search of work - mostly from the countries Yugoslavia, Turkey and Pakistan - and, later on, these foreigners' families.
- Political refugees, especially from Vietnam and Latin America.
- Foreign children adopted by Danish married couples; in the years following World War II, mulatto children from West Germany, and subsequently children from Korea, Thailand,Shri Lanka and India.

2.1 Statistics on immigrants

This sub-section of the report deals with some more general statistical data on the immigrants in Denmark, whereas the

statistics directly relating to matters of training and work are given in chapter 3, under the sections dealing with the other aspects of these topics.

In the compilation of statistics concerning immigrants,various difficulties are encountered. "Danmarks statistik" publishes regular information on population movements, i.e. immigration and emigration. A distinction is made here between Danish and foreign nationals and the statistics will therefore not cover immigrants who have become naturalized after residing for a number of years in Denmark, nor children of these immigrants. The available statistical information therefore does not conform to the broad definition of the concept in which the term "immigrant" stands for all persons born abroad, or whose father and/or mother were born abroad (cf. ch. 1).

Moreover, more detailed statistics on immigrants in conjunction with planning and administration did not begin to attract interest until the last few years, since - as already mentioned - this category of population was of little significance quantitatively until recently.

In terms purely of numbers, Denmark still does not have any great immigration problem, compared with a number of other countries. Only about 2% of the population are aliens, and this includes aliens from countries of the Nordic Union and of the EC. The latest figures are from 1 January 1984;these

are given in figure 2.1.

Fig. 2.1. Latest figures on aliens residing in Denmark (From "Weekendavisen", 18 August 1984)

The Nordic countries	22 334
Of which Norway 9 626, Sweden 7 902	
EC-countries	23 756
Of which West Germany 8 021, Great Britain 9 456	
Rest of Europe	30 350
Of which Yugoslavia 7 397, Turkey 17 827	
Africa	4 233
North America	4 668
Of which USA 3 868	
Latin America and Central America	1 942
Asia	15 819
Of which Pakistan 6 659	
Oceania	544
Of which Australia 420	
Aliens, unspecified	416
Foreign nationals, total	104 062
Danish citizens	5 008 068
Total population	5 112 130
Foreign nationals as a percentage of total population	2.0

Trend in the number of aliens in Denmark for the years 1964 to 1973 and 1974 to 1982 (Fig.2.2.)

Fig. 2.2. Number of foreign nationals in Denmark, 1964-73 and 1974-82. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Nordic Union	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
EC	...	...	...	11.709	12.242	12.255	12.522	12.578	13.112	17.625
North America	2.827	3.094	3.281	3.654	3.902	3.766	3.954	4.430	4.983	5.366
3rd countr.total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Of Which:										
Yugoslavia	...	...	...	358	808	1.157	2.495	4.591	5.500	5.364
Turkey	...	...	...	171	465	626	1.352	6.073	6.252	5.517
Pakistan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.017	2.320	2.509
Aliens, total	21.357	23.645	25.612	28.483	31.341	32.286	37.920	49.811	54.119	54.716

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Nordic Union	21.774	21.945	21.096	21.419	21.886	22.480	22.608	22.390	22.147
EC	22.293	23.806	23.149	23.486	24.176	25.009	24.212	23.251	22.605
North America	6.602	6.977	6.301	5.725	5.429	5.359	5.096	4.918	4.597
3rd countr.total	39.186	41.303	40.200	41.025	42.924	45.419	47.880	51.031	52.565
Of which:									
Yugoslavia	6.777	6.892	6.396	6.434	6.674	6.966	7.126	7.317	7.402
Turkey	8.135	8.129	7.857	8.022	10.209	11.819	14.006	15.838	16.705
Pakistan	3.733	4.992	5.178	5.400	5.557	5.933	6.400	7.798[1]	8.033[1]
Aliens, total	90.855	93.931	90.854	91.655	94.415	99.267	99.796	101.[illegible]	101.914

Note. For 1964-73, "Aliens, total" embraces only foreigners with a residence permit, and hence does not include Scandinavian citizens or children who do not have their own residence permit.

"EC" covers to 1973 the six EC-states. From 1974 onwards, "EC" also includes Great Britain and Ireland, and from 1981 also Greece.

Sources. Befolkningens Bevaegelser (Population Movements) 1978, p. 20 et seq. and BB 1980, p.146.
Statistisk Tiårsoversigt (Statistical 10-Year Survey) 1981, p.18.
Statistisk Årbog (Statistical Yearbook) 1969,1972.
Source material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

1) Also includes Pakistanis holding a British passport, but born in Pakistan.

It will be noted that the number of aliens in Denmark is increasing; but in the last few years up to about 1982 this rise has been only slight. For the Nordic Union, EC and North America, however, there is a slight fall, while for Yugoslavs and Pakistanis the number is virtually constant and only Turkey still shows an increase in 1982.

Regarding planning and administration for these categories of population, figures of this kind provide only a limited number of the requisite data. Among other things, the following also need to be known:

- number of emigrants and immigrants
- distribution by age
- distribution by sex
- number of naturalizations
- geographical distribution

Immigration and emigration

Fig. 2.3 shows the immigration and emigration of aliens, by nationality. These statistics are important in connection with planning of training measures; but for these purposes they must be combined with information on re-immigration and re-emigration. Interest has begun to be shown in such analyses at a general level; but if they are to be of any significance for planning, they must be in-depth, showing what nationalities and which age-groups are involved in re-immigration and re-emigration on a large scale.

Nationality	1976			1977			1978		
	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net im-mig.	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net im-mig.	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net im-mig.
Nordic Union, EC and N. America	8.[illegible]	8.235	536	9.502	8.054	1.448	9.867	8.070	1.797
Third countries	5.9[illegible]	4.305	1.612	6.261	3.428	2.833	6.094	2.869	3.225
Of which:									
Yugoslavia	[illegible]56	512	-56	513	305	207	402	245	157
Turkey	1.3[illegible]3	827	566	1.853	496	1.357	1.674	390	1.284
Pakistan	29[illegible]	412	-117	304	371	-67	442	232	210
Total	[illegible]4.6[illegible]	12.540	2.145	[illegible]5.763	11.482	4.28[illegible]	[illegible]5.961	10.939	5.022

(contd./)

Source: "Befolkningens bevaegelser", various years.

Fig. 2.3. Immigration and emigration and also net immigration of foreign nationals, by nationality. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

Source: Befolkningens bevaegelser, various years

Distribution by age

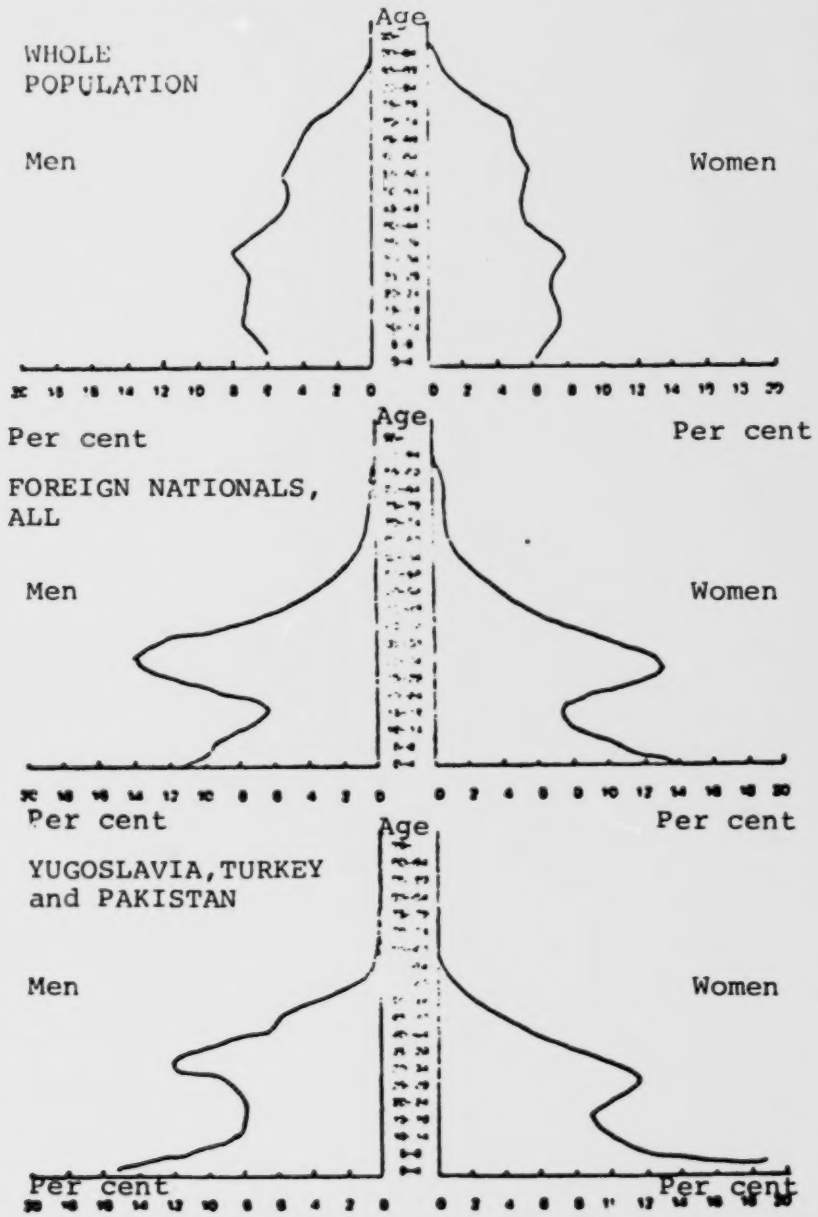
The age distribution among aliens is very different from the distribution for the population as a whole. This is illustrated in its main features by the age-pyramids in Fig. 2.4., where it will be seen that the proportion of children in the immigrant population is high compared with the total population, whereas the proportion of elderly people is low among the immigrants.

(Fig.2.3,contd.)

Nationality	1979			1980			1981		
	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net imm.	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net imm.	Im-mig.	Emig.	Net Imm.
Nordic Union,EC and N.America	[illegible].359	8.664	1.895	9.461	9.023	438	7.922	8.113	-191
Third countries	7.490	2.670	4.820	6.324	2.911	3.413	5.439	2.956	2.483
Of which:									
Yugoslavia	[illegible]	[illegible]2	69	335	[illegible]51	84	249	[illegible]70	-21
Turkey	1.945	[illegible]73	1.672	1.618	392	1.226	807	489	318
Pakistan	[illegible]02	[illegible]00	[illegible]02	[illegible]78	213	65	402	215	187
T o t a l	18.849	11.334	6.715	15.785	11.934	3.851	13.361	11.069	2.292

Source: "Befolkningens bevaegelser", various years.

Fig. 2.4. Age-pyramids 1 January 1982. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)



A more detailed picture of the distribution by age-groups and by sex among aliens is given by the table in Fig. 2.5.

Fig. 2.5. Number of aliens, by nationality, age and sex, 1 January 1982. (From "Statistik om indvandrere", 1983)

A g e, yrs.	0-5	6-16	17-24	25-39	40-54	55-59	60+	Total
EC, Nordic Union, North America[1]								
Men	1.783	3.778	3.131	9.900	4.175	672	1.227	24.666
Women	1.636	3.603	3.545	8.775	4.802	796	1.526	24.683
Total	3.419	7.381	6.676	18.675	8.977	1.468	2.753	49.349
Third countries[2]								
Men	4.379	5.440	3.950	9.973	4.574	410	343	29.069
Women	4.359	4.853	3.638	7.371	2.567	296	302	23.496
Total	8.738	10.293	7.588	17.344	7.141	706	725	52.565
Of which:								
Yugoslavia								
Men	541	720	383	1.303	758	98	44	3.847
Women	537	692	441	1.232	546	57	50	3.555
Total	1.078	1.412	824	2.535	1.304	155	94	7.402
Turkey								
Men	1.581	2.030	1.646	2.662	1.462	135	59	9.595
Women	1.399	1.837	1.422	1.530	731	72	39	7.110
Total	3.080	3.867	3.068	4.192	2.193	207	98	16.705
Pakistan								
Men	703	821	509	1.662	774	53	15	4.747
Women	844	732	384	1.100	216	10	5	3.291
Total	1.747	1.553	893	2.762	990	63	20	8.038
T o t a l								
Men	6.162	9.218	7.081	19.873	8.749	1.082	1.570	53.735
Women	5.995	8.456	7.183	16.146	7.369	1.092	1.828	48.179
Total	12.157	17.674	14.264	36.019	16.118	2.174	3.398	101.914

1) Excl. Pakistanis with a British passport and born in Pakistan.
2) Incl. Pakistanis with a British passport and born in Pakistan.

Source: Material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

Distribution by sex

Immigration from third countries originally consisted almost exclusively of males. Later on, the distribution became more equal between the two sexes,because immigration of foreign workers in general was stopped and the increase in the number of immigrants thereafter consisted of the reuniting of families and of the birth of foreign nationals within this country. Fig.2 shows the distribution of aliens by sex and nationality.

Fig. 2.6. Number of foreign nationals as at 1 January 1982, by sex and nationality. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere, 1983)

	Nordic Union	EC + North America	Other	Of which: Pakistan[1]	Yugoslavia	Turkey	Total	Pct.
Men	9.452	15.216	29.069	4.747	3.817	9.595	53.735	52,7
Women	12.695	11.986	23.496	3.291	3.585	7.110	48.179	47,3
T o t a l	22.147	27.202	52.565	8.038	7.402	16.705	101.914	100,0
In pct.	21,7	26,7	51,6	7,9	7,3	16,4	100,0	.

Source: Material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

Note 1) Incl. Pakistanis with a British passport and born in Pakistan.

Naturalization

It was emphasized earlier in this report that the statistical information suffers from the defect of dealing mostly with aliens, and not with immigrants in the wider sense,embracing

all persons born abroad and their children. However, the number of naturalizations - not least for the three major categories of immigrants - is found to be very low, and it is for this reason that the statistics on aliens are of interest in the immigration problem, despite the fact that they do not contain the persons who have achieved Danish citizenship. The number of naturalizations in the years 1975-82, by previous nationality, is shown in Fig. 2.7.

Fig. 2.7. Naturalizations in the years 1975-82, by nationality before naturalization. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Nordic Union	(no data available)				675	402	344	...
EC					2.042	940	878	...
North America					344	191	163	...
Yugoslavia					72	59	48	...
Turkey					99	22	26	...
Pakistan					172	149	211	...
Other 3rd countries					2.037	2.036	1.969	...
T o t a l	2.391	2.357	2.439	2.737	6.240	3.772	3.629	...
Of which by law[1]:	2.391	2.357	2.439	2.737	1.590	1.529	1.419	1.542
by formal declaration :	.	.	.	.	4.650	2.243	2.210	...

1) The Law concerning Danish citizenship was amended with effect from 1 January 1979, enabling, among other things, foreign adopted children to some extent to acquire Danish citizenship by formal declaration. At the same time, during a transitional period up to 31 December 1981, Danish mothers with children born in wedlock with a foreign man were allowed under certain conditions to make a declaration that the children should be Danish.

Source: Befolkningens bevaegelser 1979-81 and also material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

Geographical distribution

The majority of the immigrants in Denmark are concentrated in a limited number of boroughs within the metropolitan area and a few of the larger provincial towns. Thus, 70 % of the immigrants from third countries reside in twenty of the country's boroughs. The number of aliens by nationality-categories and the county boroughs/boroughs of the country is shown in Fig. 2.8.

Fig. 2.8. Number of aliens, by nationality-categories and by county boroughs in Denmark. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere",1983).

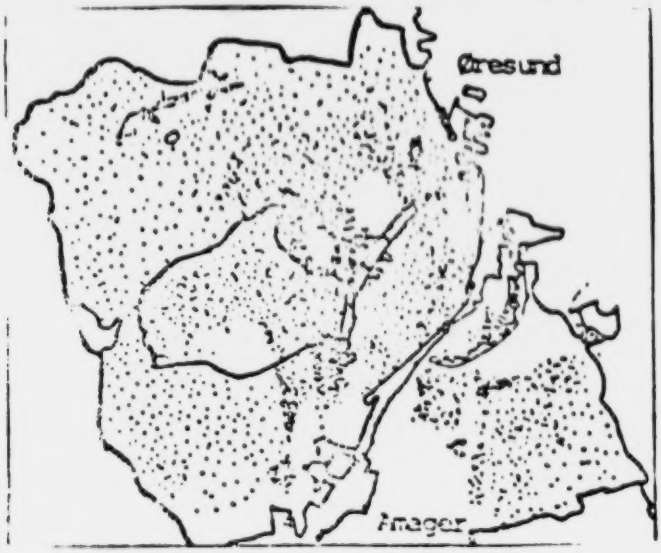
	Nordic Un., EC, North America	3rd countries, total	Of which: Yugoslavia	Turkey	Pakistan	Total
Copenhagen munic.	[illegible]	16.[illegible]	3.[illegible]	3.[illegible]	3.663	28.145
Frederiksberg mun.	1.766	1.850	271	330	257	3.616
Copenhagen cty.bor.	[illegible]	11.[illegible]	1.379	4.037	2.147	21.545
Frederiksborg cty.	5.092	5.138	1.619	1.938	423	10.230
Roskilde cty.bor.	1.912	2.030	59	1.310	147	3.942
W.Sealand county	1.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	33	1.[illegible]	6	3.[illegible]
Storstrøm cty.bor.	1.215	821	271	157	3	2.036
Bornholm cty.bor.	[illegible]	35	1	-	-	302
Funen cty.bor.	2.995	2.397	219	957	250	5.392
S.Jutland county	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	21	159	7	3.505
Ribe county bor.	1.232	593	13	203	12	1.825
Vejle county bor.	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	31	[illegible]	[illegible]	3.300
Ringkøbing cty.b.	1.[illegible]	753	32	[illegible]	11	1.787
Århus county bor.	4.[illegible]	4.[illegible]	335	1.821	57	[illegible]
Viborg county bor.	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	31	5	1.177
N.Jutland cty. bor.	2.542	795	16	190	9	[illegible]
Total for the country	50.[illegible]	51.343	7.402	16.705	6.[illegible]	101.914

Source: Material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

It is possible to calculate from the above table that the boroughs of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg - i.e. the inner city area of the capital - contain 31 % of the total number of aliens in Denmark and 38 % of nationals of third countries. It will also be seen from the table that county boroughs which consist of small market towns and what are markedly agricultural areas - the county boroughs of South Jutland and of Viborg, for example - contain only a quite small proportion of the aliens, with very few from third countries.

The concentrated settlement of immigrants can be illustrated even more specifically, in that the immigrants typically settle within precisely-defined areas of a borough. An attempt has been made to show this roughly in Fig. 2.9, in which the concentration of dots shows the concentration of immigrants within the boroughs of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg. The places where the dots are densest are to the west and south of the row of four lakes in the middle of Copenhagen, corresponding to the old residential districts of Nørrebro and Vesterbro, respectively.

Fig. 2.9. Concentration of aliens as at 1 January 1980 within the boroughs of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere",1983)



Political refugees

The statistics cited so far have concerned the immigrant population in general, frequently with special mention of immigrants from third countries. However, these statistics have not provided a special picture of the situation regarding political refugees.

These refugees come to Denmark under international agreements,as the so-called "convention refugees" or "A-refugees". The number of refugees in the years 1979-82 is shown in Fig.2.10.

Fig. 2.10. Number of political refugees received in Denmark in the years 1979-82, by nationalities. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere",1983)

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Africa	20	32	40	31
E. Europe	46	70	88	128
Latin America	124	111	111	94
Asia	905	672	561	546
of which Vietnam	897	650	529	506
T o t a l	1.095	885	810	799

Source: Material in "Dansk Flygtningehjaelp" (Danish Refugee Relief Organization)

It will be seen from the above table that most of the refugees are from Vietnam. A continued influx of political refugees during the coming years is expected, with a little re-emigration and much naturalization.

The Law concerning aliens (law 1983-06-08 No. 226) also makes it possible to accept refugees other than convention-refugees: "A residence permit will be granted to an alien on application, if weighty reasons exist for not requiring the alien to return to his homeland". This refers to the so-called "de-facto-refugees" or "B-refugees".

Adoptions

As is shown by Fig. 2.11, the adoption of aliens by Danish married couples has remained at a very consistent level in recent years.

As a proportion of the total number of immigrants, the number is not large. The children concerned normally acquire Danish citizenship very quickly and they do not appear to cause great problems at the community-level; they will therefore not be discussed in detail in this report. (A study published in 1977 by the Institute of Sociological Research showed that these adopted children had, on average, fewer problems than Danish-born children).

Fig. 2.11. Number of adoptions, by birthplace of the children, in the years 1973-81. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere, 1983)

	Europe	Africa	Amer-ica	Asia	Of which		Other	T o t a l
					India	Korea		
1973	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1974	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1975	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1976	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1977	59	10	23	622	42	437	1	715
1978	42	15	22	657	43	446	2	738
1979	27	5	29	435	58	312	4	500
1980	24	5	59	676	104	450	2	766
1981	23	6	51	578	78	381	0	658

Source: Befolkningens bevaegelse, various years.

2.2. The legal position of immigrants

The immigrants' legal position was last defined precisely in the "Udlaendingelov" (Law concerning aliens) No.226 of 8 June 1983 and its appurtenant statutory order "Udlaendinge-bekendtgørelse" No.457 of 23 September 1983 from the Ministry of Justice. The legal position of immigrants depends primarily upon whether the immigrants concerned are aliens or have acquired Danish citizenship, but secondarily upon their country of origin, with different rules applying according to whether they are citizens of the other Nordic countries, countries of the EC or from third countries. The new Law concerning aliens brings a change,in that the administrative tasks connected with aliens no longer come under the police, but under a Directorate for aliens under the Ministry of Justice.

Nationals of other Nordic countries, i.e. Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, can enter Denmark and stay in the country without a permit - and no work permit is required for these nationals, either.

Nationals of other EC-countries can enter Denmark and stay without a permit for up to three months from the entry-date. The Ministry of Justice lays down detailed regulations for implementation of the European Communities'rules and exemption from carrying a visa and for lifting of the restrictions concerning entry and residence in connection with the free mobility of labour, etc.

Immigrants from third countries have been subject to various regulations on entry, residence and work, over the years. As mentioned in sub-section 2.1, immigration from these countries did not reach a scale of any significance until 1967. The remarks below concerning the immigrants' legal position are centred upon immigrants from third countries.

Entry and residence

Up to 1970, there were no restrictions upon entry, and application for a work permit could be made either before entry or after arrival in Denmark. In November 1970 the issue of first-time work permits was discontinued (the so-called "invandrerstop") and,with the exception of a brief period in 1973 , this has been the situation ever since. However, owing to the right of family reunion, the net number of immigrants from third countries has nevertheless continued to increase.

The exception to the ban on immigration is aliens who come to Denmark under international agreements on refugees. The Law concerning aliens (Udlaendingeloven) states the rules for family reunion,and a residence permit is granted,on application, for a person cohabiting with a person permanently resident in Denmark (this applies to both heterosexual and homosexual relationships) and, for children who are minors, to a person permanently resident in Denmark. In addition, a residence permit can be granted to parents over 60 years of age for aliens holding a residence permit for an unlimited period - but normally only if the applicants do not have other children within the homeland who could undertake the care and maintenance.

Cancellation of residence and work permits

The residence permit will normally be cancelled only if the alien concerned ceases to reside in Denmark or resides outside the country for more than six months in succession. However, if the stay in Denmark has been of more than two years' duration, the limit is twelve months in succession outside the country.

Expulsion

The Law concerning aliens of 1983 imposes major restrictions upon the possibility of expelling from the country aliens who have become linked more permanently with Denmark by virtue of having lived here for a substantial period of time. The new rules are formulated so that restrictions upon the possibility of expulsion take effect, step by step, after 1, 2, 4 and 7 years' residence. After 7 years, expulsion can take place only "if it is found to be necessary for national security,or if the person concerned has repeatedly committed crimes or has been sentenced to at least 6 years' imprisonment for a crime of such a nature and so serious that expulsion is justified".

Social welfare

A new Law concerning national pensions came into force on 1 October 1984. This law offers wider opportunities regarding pensions for aliens from third countries who are resident in Denmark than do the rules applying hitherto; but the pension facilities have already existed for some years for aliens from the three major countries of immigration - Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan - with which bilateral social welfare agreements were concluded in 1978, 1979 and 1982.

Naturalization

The legal distinction between immigrants and the rest of the population in Denmark is not eliminated until Danish citizenship - naturalization - is acquired.

The requirement enabling acquisition of Danish citizenship is normally at least 7 years' residence in Denmark prior to application, in addition to which a knowledge of the Danish language "equal to that of native Danes of the same age and educational level" is required. Finally, the applicant must not have a criminal record.

Education

Numerous international bodies deal with the rights of immigrants regarding educational matters, and a number of regulations and recommendations exist,which derive from this activity and form part of the basis for rules and practical procedures for dealing with these areas in Denmark.

The following are some of the binding instruments:

- Unesco's agreement of 15 December 1960 against differential treatment in education, ratified by Denmark on 1 October 1963.
- The UN convention on economic, social and cultural rights and also civil and political rights, ratified by Denmark on 14 December 1971.
- Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education assembled in the Council of the European Communities on 9 February 1976, concerning a programme of action for education.

- The Council's directive of 25 July 1977 concerning schooling for the children of foreign workers.

The rights of immigrants regarding education, with special reference to Denmark, are dealt with in chapter 3. This concerns opportunities for special instruction , instruction in the mother tongue and adult classes in Danish language.

2.3 Organizations concerned with matters of immigration

As mentioned earlier, the problem of immigration in Denmark has begun to be tackled substantially only in the last few years. The following bodies deal with questions relating to immigrants at national level: a number of national committees, the immigration office of the Ministry for Home Affairs, the Danish Refugee Relief Organization (Dansk Flygtningehjaelp) and the International Co-operation Organization (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke).

National committees

The governmental Committee on Immigration co-ordinates at ministerial level the different elements of policy on immigrants and is the forum for wider political comment. A local-authority liaison group under the Ministry for Home Affairs has in it, among other members, officers from local authorities which have a particularly large number of immigrants. In addition, a liaison committee has been appointed for contact with the immigrants' own associations. A special committee on adult education for immigrants has,as its function, surveying the

existing Danish educational arrangements for adult immigrants and submitting recommendations for changes relating to this education. In addition, under the Ministry for Social Affairs there is a committee for immigrant children and their childhood and adolescent development, while a committee under the Home Affairs Ministry studies immigrant settlement-patterns. Finally, a study group has been appointed under the Ministry for Cultural Affairs to deal with cultural activities for immigrants.

Immigration office of the Home Affairs Ministry

The Ministry for Home Affairs set up in 1981 an immigration office whose function is to gather and exploit statistical data on immigrants. In addition, the office acts as the secretariat for the governmental Committee on Immigration. In 1983 the immigration office published a set of statistics on immigrants, from which most of the statistical information in the present report was taken.

Danish Refugee Relief Organization

The Danish Refugee Relief Organization is an "umbrella organization" which was formed in 1956 in connection with the reception of a large number of Hungarian refugees. The Organization has permanent departments in Copenhagen and Århus and establishes project centresin places where newly-arrived groups of refugees are placed. In the last few years, Denmark has been receiving groups of varying size - from Vietnam, Poland and Latin American countries, for example. The Danish Refugee Relief Organization runs language schools; the instruction given is described in more detail in sub-section 3.2.

International Co-operation Organization

The International Co-operation Organization deals with questions relating to developing countries - including matters concerning immigrants in Denmark. The Organization has a documentation centre which gathers literature on immigrant problems in Denmark and publishes biographies on this subject.

Immigrant organizations

The different ethnic groups have formed local associations at a number of places in Denmark - not least, of course, in Copenhagen, where the immigrants are most concentrated.

Public support is given today to the national associations, in accordance with detailed rules.

In addition, general immigrant organizations exist to take care of common interests for immigrants from different countries. Thus, in 1976 the Joint Council of Immigrants in Denmark (Indvandrernes Faellesråd i Danmark, IFD) was formed, which in 1980 published a report: "Indvandrernes forslag til løsning af deres problemer i Danmark" (Immigrants' recommendations for solution of their problems in Denmark).

However, understandably enough it seems very difficult for the various groups to reach agreement, and in 1981 some immigrant groups took the initiative to form another general organization: IND-sam.

Today, the situation is that two general organizations exist, each of which covers only a small sector of the existing immigrant associations, while at the same time the majority of the immigrants are outside the associations.

3. ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENT AREAS OF IMMIGRANT PROBLEMS

The central topic of this report is young immigrants and their vocational training. However, the opportunities for young immigrants to take a course of vocational training and utilize it subsequently in their working life are closely connected with a number of areas of immigrant problems, namely:

- the preceding primary schooling and the transition from this to a job or training;
- conditions during work and unemployment;
- cultural and social circumstances, including circumstances of family and housing, integration in the community and special problems of women.

In addition to actual vocational training, all of these areas of immigrant problems will be discussed in this chapter - although I am well aware of the fact that the discussion can be at only a general level.

The problem areas coincide to some extent with those that are encountered generally where immigrants settle in industrial countries; but they also have more specifically Scandinavian or

even quite special Danish features. Thus, this applies to the study of Danish as a foreign language - a problem area in which interest has begun to be shown only recently.

3.1 Primary school and primary school-leaving

The Danish basis of experience regarding immigrants in primary school and subsequent education and training is far smaller than in many other European countries. Only in the last few years have the problems reached a scale such that the authorities have begun to give attention to them.

However, foreign language-speaking pupils have had to be dealt with in Denmark previously, since Danish is a foreign language for children from the Faroe Islands and Greenland, which used to be parts of Denmark and are still linked to it to some extent today. But no major, systematic studies have been made of the problems which this instruction in Danish as a foreign language has caused for both teachers and pupils.

In studies of immigrants within the field of education and training, the term "foreign language-speaking" is used more frequently than "immigrants". I do not know exactly how this can be explained; but various partial explanations can be considered. Firstly, linguistic communication is a fundamental feature of the teaching situation. Secondly, there has been a tradition in Denmark of Scandinavian immigration from the countries which are closely related to Denmark linguistically - Norway and Sweden - which has not created the great difficulties

in teaching. Thirdly, there has perhaps been a desire to emphasize that the language barrier can exist even for immigrants who have become naturalized and are, therefore, no longer immigrants in the narrower sense of the term.

Statistical considerations

The records of foreign language-speaking pupils thus do not match the number of young immigrants within the same age group; but most of the pupils from third countries are probably entered as foreign language-speaking in the statistics below.

The number of foreign language-speaking pupils in primary school, by country of origin, can be seen from Fig. 3.1. It will be noted that the number from third countries has been rising sharply in recent years and is at a much higher level than the number from the other countries of immigration.

Fig. 3.1. Foreign language-speaking pupils in primary school, by countries 1975-81. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere, 1983)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Faroe Is.+ Greenland	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nordic Union	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
EC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North America	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Third countries	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Of which:							
Yugoslavia	362	572	637	721	812	870	913
Turkey	667	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pakistan	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
T o t a l	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: Material in the Ministry of Education.

However, the possibilities of arranging schooling which takes account of the problems of the different ethnic groups depend not only upon the total numbers of children, but also upon the distribution over the various local-authority areas within the country. In chapter 2 (Fig. 2.9) it was described how, in some places, there is a heavy concentration of individual immigrant nationalities, and this great difference in density of immigrants can be seen correspondingly for primary school pupils from Fig. 3.2. Nearly three-quarters of the foreign language-speaking pupils of primary school are concentrated in 17 of the country's 275 boroughs. Some city districts exist today in which a substantial percentage of the primary school pupils are immigrant children from third countries - at Nørrebro and Vesterbro in the inner city of Copenhagen, for example, where between 25% and 35% of the children today are immigrant. This trend is accentuated

by a sharp fall in the number of births in the Danish population in recent years. However, the most common situation in the Danish primary schools is still the existence of only a few pupils from one and the same ethnic group within the individual school.

Fig. 3.2. Distribution of foreign language-speaking pupils in primary school, by number within the borough as at 1 November 1981. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983).

Number of pupils	Number of boroughs	Total number of pupils	Pct.
0	111	0	0,0
1-9	93	530	6,0
10-99	54	2.105	23,6
100-999	16	3.977	44,7
> 1.000	1	2.293	25,7

Source: Material in the Ministry of Education

It is difficult to foresee what the trend in the primary school will be in the rather longer term. The proportion of the 0-6 years-old immigrant children within the country that are foreign language-speaking - and will therefore possibly need additional instruction at school - is not known; nor is it known how far their families will accept the offer of instruction in the mother tongue. Moreover, a high frequency of relocation has been found to exist among immigrants, making longer-term planning of

schooling difficult for this reason also. Finally, the arrival and settlement of political refugees cannot be predicted.

Action in the primary school

The Danish regulations for the teaching of foreign language-speaking pupils were first drawn up in accord with the resolutions of the Council of Europe in the 1970's and with the negotiations that preceded the EC-directive on this subject in 1976. In practice, the Danish educational system largely meets the international requirements and recommendations (20).

The legal basis was laid down in Law No.313 of 26 June 1975 concerning the primary school and in statutory order No. 179 of 8 March 1976 setting out the details on this basis. The basic principle in these provisions is that it is important to enable foreign language-speaking pupils to follow the instruction on an equal footing with the other pupils. The main emphasis is upon instruction in the Danish language.

At the beginning of the Seventies, "reception classes" were established, on the English model, in Copenhagen - where the greatest concentration of immigrants existed also at that time. Reception classes are aimed at integration in the normal school system and are intended primarily for children who have just arrived in Denmark. Gradual integration in normal primary school takes place, starting with participation in musical and practical subjects, and endeavouring to have some of the instruction in Danish in the reception classes given by bilingual teachers with command of the mother tongue of the children concerned.

In Odense, Denmark's third largest city, a study of 43 children from Turkey and Pakistan has been carried out in the last few years as part of an EC-project. The teaching process during and after the integration stage has been followed, and the families' reactions to the meeting of the two respective cultures has been studied. The teachers succeeded in developing very suitable instructional media for teaching the pupils both Danish and their own language. The Danish school system has worked well in relation to the immigrants, in the opinion of the EC-Commission given in an evaluation of the project; but it is stated that paedagogic co-operation between Denmark and the immigrants' country of origin is lacking.

Instruction in the mother tongue

The statutory order of 1976, mentioned earlier, requires local authorities to offer foreign language-speaking pupils instruction in their mother tongue. If at least twelve pupils speaking the same language apply, the local authority must arrange classes; if fewer than twelve apply, the pupils are referred to classes organized on a county-basis. From 3 to 5 hours' instruction a week is given, outside the pupils' normal school-hours and either on week-day afternoons or on Saturady morning.

The purpose of the mother-tongue instruction is to strengthen the pupils' own language and also to give an insight into the cultural and social situation in their homeland.

The Ministry of Education estimated in 1980 that 39 % of the pupils whom the schools regard as foreign language-speaking take part in mother-tongue classes. Some immigrant groups typically have a high percentage of participants - the Yugoslav group in Copenhagen, for example, which a study in 1980 showed to have 86 %-participation (92 out of a total of 107 pupils). Other immigrant groups - political refugees, for example - have a low percentage of participants.

No actual studies exist to explain the low average participant-percentage; but a number of different factors are known to be involved, as follows:

- The place for the mother-tongue instruction can be far away from home and school.
- The time of the classes (outside school-hours) can be a deterrent.
- The language spoken in the home is not in all cases the official language in which instruction is offered.
- The family wants its children in some cases to be "proper" Danes and therefore not to be concerned with the homeland.

Primary school-leaving

In general, non-attendance at primary school is no more frequent for foreign language-speaking pupils than for the others, as was shown by a report from the Ministry of Education in 1981 (24).

In the case of the girls, however absence rises steeply at puberty, while for boys non-attendance is frequent at the ages of 14-16 years, when they begin to have so much work that they find it difficult also to cope with school.

In the Ministry of Education survey in four boroughs (reported in the above-mentioned 1981-report), it was found that only 10 % of the Turkish girls still attended school after they had reached the final, leaving-class in primary school, and usually only very few of the young immigrants from third countries left primary school with its school-leaving certificate.

A survey of immigrant pupils leaving primary school in the borough of Copenhagen (17) shows briefly the following results:

- In general, their academic knowledge is not much lower than for the Danish pupils; but their knowledge of Danish leaves much to be desired.
- A comparison between the different ethnic groups shows the Yugoslavs in the lead with regard to academic performance;the Pakistanis also do well, but the Turks are at a distinctly lower level.
- Family background plays a role; there is thus a tendency for the children to produce a better academic performance if one or both parents has had an education.

The survey shows no correlation between the sex and the academic knowledge of the pupil.

Arrival after the 14th birthday

Young immigrants who have arrived in Denmark after their 14th birthday can be accepted in a special class under statutory order No. 179, 1976, if it is thought that they cannot derive reasonable benefit from instruction in an ordinary class in primary school.

Instruction in these special reception classes comprises the Danish language and also normal primary-school subjects at the 8th to 10th form-levels, arranged with a view to the pupils' special requirements.

The total instruction-time is fixed in the range 24 - 30 hours a week. The number of pupils in each class (which can embrace several levels) must not exceed twelve at the start of the school-year, unless the class is taught jointly by two teachers.

As is the case generally for immigrant children, the local authority of the area in which they reside is bound to offer these young immigrants mother-tongue instruction amounting to 3-5 hours a week.

3.2 Vocational training

By far the majority of young immigrants from third countries go into unskilled work or unemployment after primary school. The situation of these young people is described in sub-section 3.3.

No complete statistics exist regarding the number of young immigrants accepted for the various types of youth training courses. In general, it may be said that Danish experience is still very limited.

Very few of the young immigrants from third countries continue after primary school in the upper secondary school or continuation school, as can be seen from Fig. 3.3. The proportion of female immigrant pupils is in the minority and the distribution between the two sexes in 1980 can be seen from Figs. 3.4 and 3.5.

Fig. 3.3. Foreign pupils as at 1 October 1980, by school standard and nationality. (From "Statistik om indvandrere", 1983)

	8th-10th form	Upper secondary level	Continuation school	T o t a l
Nordic Union	575	607	1.456	2.638
EC	720	439	752	1.911
North America	219	126	245	650
3rd countries	1.464	599	622	2.685
Of which:				
Yugoslavia	190	93	18	301
Turkey	474	60	13	547
Pakistan	189	39	7	226
T o t a l	2.958	1.031	3.035	7.074

Source: Material in the Ministry of Education.

Fig. 3.4 Foreign female pupils as at 1 October 1980, by school level and nationality. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	8th-10th class	Upper secondary level	Continuation school	T o t a l
Nordic Union	306	332	636	1.274
EC	276	235	291	803
North America	124	101	123	348
3rd countries	302	301	138	831
Of which:				
Yugoslavia	79	37	9	124
Turkey	103	8	2	113
Pakistan	63	8	1	72
T o t a l	1.209	870	1.268	3.486

Source: Material in Ministry of Education.

Fig. 3.5. Foreign male pupils as at 1 October 1980, by school level and nationality. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	8th-10th class	Upper secondary level	Continuation school	T o t a l
Nordic Union	299	275	699	1.274
EC	334	353	611	1.009
North America	95	85	122	302
3rd countries	802	373	624	1.704
Of which:				
Yugoslavia	112	56	9	177
Turkey	311	52	11	374
Pakistan	117	31	6	154
T o t a l	1.530	1.011	1.787	4.388

Youth school

One possibility for juveniles who do not start their training or job immediately after primary school is the youth school (ungdomsskole), organized under the local authority. The youth school offers a wide variety of options regarding the subject-matter and methods offered to the young persons. The emphasis in the youth school is generally upon practical subjects; but preparation for the school-leaving examinations of the primary school can be offered also.

Special courses at the youth school for young immigrants are arranged in some local-authority areas. This is so in Copenhagen, where a pilot project was carried out in 1977-78 with aid from the EC social welfare fund and in collaboration with the International Co-operation Organization (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke). On the basis of experience with this project, from 1979 onwards more permanent preparatory courses for jobs and vocational training were established under the youth school for young immigrants.

The courses are for foreigners between the ages of 16 and 24 who become unemployed for the first time. The students are taught Danish, current affairs and their mother tongue for 1-6 months, depending upon their existing knowledge. After courses of this kind, the young persons are offered an opportunity to continue in the various local-authority projects for young unemployed people together with young Danes.

Basic vocational training

It is not known how many immigrants have been accepted for basic vocational training in Denmark; nor is it known how many have successfully completed such training.

Basic vocational training is an alternance training which can be structured in two different ways; on the one hand, it is the traditional apprenticeship, and on the other, a basic trade training (efg) which was introduced in 1972 on an experimental basis and in 1977 as a permanent arrangement, but still as a parallel system to the apprenticeship. The apprenticeship has been abolished in a number of trades, however. In the apprenticeship, the young person commences in a training post immediately, while'efg'starts with one year's more general basic education at school, after which alternance training is continued.

A small number of immigrants appear to have got primarily into 'efg'. The sole requirement for admission to 'efg' is that the young person has had - in Denmark or in his country of origin - instruction equivalent to nine years' schooling. No primary school-leaving examination is necessary.

Young immigrants are thus - in theory, at least - on an equal footing with other juveniles for acceptance to 'efg'; but in order to be on a really equal footing, they must be informed that these favourable conditions exist for acceptance for 'efg', and must have information on vocational training in general. The existing information system does not, it has

been found, always function effectively enough in relation to this special category of young persons, and special difficulties stand in the way of provision of the young people's families with information on the training opportunities which is meaningful to them.

In addition, however, a number of hidden requirements exist. Nine years' schooling in Denmark provides a different basis from what would have been given if this schooling had taken place - partially, at least - in, say, Turkey or Pakistan. And the instruction in vocational schools is arranged with a view to pupils with a Danish upbringing.

Integration courses for 'efg'

Difficulties have been encountered with starting young immigrants on basic trade training (efg) - not least the young persons from the political refugee-families which have been received in Denmark in the last few years.

A study group of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Danish Refugee Relief Organization and three vocational schools in Jutland (Esbjerg, Vejle, Mommark) therefore drew up in 1980 a proposal for an integration course for refugees for 'efg'.

Interest in the Danish experiment with integration courses for vocational training has been shown in the other European countries. This experiment is therefore described in considerable detail below.

The proposal concerns primarily integration of the young refugees, but it can be used equally well for other young immigrants with a language-background or cultural background which is different from that encountered by the other young trainees when they start 'efg'. The report describes a course of 40 weeks' duration, with heavy emphasis upon projects that enable theory and practice to be combined. An ideas-list suggests a large number of topics which would be relevant for inclusion in the projects. The topics are in four groups based upon the "four lives" which are discussed in the Danish training discussion book "U90"*):

1. Family life: topics such as responsibility, medical service, food preparation, day nursery.
2. Community life: topics such as banking, the Law concerning social security (bistandslov), primary school, payment of taxes, compulsory military service.
3. Working life: topics such as the employment service, jobs, pay, shop-steward system.
4. Leisure: topics such as libraries, colleges, sports, theatre.

*) "U90"; Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century, Ministry of Education, 1978.

The report emphasizes that the object of integration courses of this kind should be to provide a basis of equality for Danish pupils and immigrants. At the same time, the immigrants should have an opportunity to retain their own personal and cultural background. What was required, the report said, was a humanistic, democratic outlook, and the course described to be based upon an hermeneutic conception in which the pupils should develop their understanding by contact with reality.

There were insufficient funds, however, and the ideas behind the proposed integration course were therefore tried out in the spring of 1981, in the form of a greatly abridged training sequence of 7-8 weeks' duration, carried out in some provincial towns in Jutland. These pilot courses were funded with money provided by the Secretariat for training measures to combat unemployment (SVUA). An attempt was made to preserve, as far as possible, the basic ideas from the original proposal, despite the shortening of the course.

On the pilot course, team-teaching was used, in which a language teacher from the Danish Refugee Relief Organization worked together with a teacher in a technical subject at the vocational school. The results of the experimental courses were largely favourable, although it was agreed that they were too short. A summary evaluation report was published in 1982 (13).

Since then, no funds have been set aside for integration courses

of this kind aimed especially at 'efg'. Young refugees have to try to manage with the less specialized courses that are held by the Danish Refugee Relief Organization (see below in this section).

Experience with immigrants in 'efg'

The Danish legislation provides opportunities for support for handicapped young persons who are under vocational training (Law No.289 of 8 June 1977, §2 para.2). By "handicap" is also understood the handicap of language in relation to the other pupils, if the pupil concerned does not have Danish as the mother tongue.

Measures of support can consist of, for example, interpreting-assistance, or extra tuition in Danish, but also help in the various technical subjects. There seems to be a great need among immigrants to have an opportunity for extra tuition in Danish , by choosing the language as an optional subject in the 'efg' base-year - Danish as a foreign language, it should be noted, and adapted to suit the very special needs of immigrants as pupils.

The immigrant pupils wish to have Danish instruction of this kind related directly, in timing and in content, to the technical subjects that are being studied. In this way, the instruction will provide opportunity for repetition of the substance of the technical subject and for studying in depth the technical

terminology used.

Interest has been shown by the Danish authorities in offering the young immigrants in the 'efg' base-year an opportunity to choose the language of their homeland as an optional subject. This could be regarded as an extension of the offer in primary school of 3-5 hours' mother-tongue instruction a week.

Experience so far shows, however,that most of the young immigrants who go into 'efg' have to make such an effort to familiarize themselves with the Danish lessons that they simply do not have,at the time,enough left over also to study their own mother tongue and their own cultural background.

One great difficulty for immigrants under vocational training is that of access, linguistically speaking, to the instructional materials. This applies not least to the written working instructions in the workshops of the technical schools. Even for Danish-speaking pupils, problems often exist in understanding the instructions correctly.

Moreover, many vocational teachers are ex-craftsmen and their technical jargon constitutes an additional difficulty of communication for the foreign language-speaking pupils.

However, the difficulty lies not only in the teachers' lack of

consciousness of the language used, but also in their lack of experience in dealing with pupils of a different cultural background. A special effort is thus necessary in order to provide the vocational teachers with the necessary basis for the work with immigrant pupils in vocational training. This basis must include both cognitive and behavioural aspects.

The staff at the National Vocational Teacher Training Establishment (SEL) are aware of the problems and they are included in the basic training for vocational teachers. In addition, there have been plans to offer vocational teachers short further-training courses in immigrant problems; but the Ministry of Education did not allow these plans to be implemented.

Dropping-out from 'efg'

In the spring of 1979, a study was made of the experiences of 122 immigrants taken into 'efg'-training for the general vocational field of "Ferrous and non-ferrous metals" during the period from January 1977 to January 1979.

This survey showed that 33 % dropped out of the system completely even during the base-year. The percentage is at the level applicable to Danish pupils; but whereas the Danish pupils often go into 'efg'-training because they do not have any definite plans for the future, the group of immigrants starting an 'efg'-course is in the highest degree selected, being

recruited from among the best-educated of the young immigrants and forming only a small proportion of a year's immigrant-intake. From this aspect, the drop-out percentage must be considered very high. Subsequent estimates indicate an even higher drop-out rate. Thus, in the borough of Copenhagen the drop-out of immigrants from the 'efg'-schools is estimated to be about one-half before completion of the basic training ('Samspil', No.6, 1984).

Even if the young immigrants get through the 'efg' base-year, the difficulties are not yet overcome. One very big problem is then to find an on-the-job training post. This is often difficult even for Danish pupils, and the recession has caused racism to flourish, so fewer employers wish to accept immigrants for on-job training and this means that the immigrants have no opportunity to complete their vocational training.

Adult training

The vocationally-orientated adult training schemes that are of interest in relation to young immigrants fall into several categories. Firstly, courses exist for newly-arrived immigrants, organized by the Danish Refugee Relief Organization (DF) and secondly courses under labour-market training schemes,including vocational induction courses for the long-term unemployed (EIFL) and also courses for training semi-skilled workers. Finally, a number of courses are organized under legislation on leisure activities, which cannot be described as being directly vocation-orientated, but can possibly improve the

immigrants' chances of getting a job.

Language school of the Danish Refugee Relief Organization

The Organization accepts newly-arrived refugees at the language school. They are aided financially for up to 18 months, after which the refugees can, if necessary, seek assistance under the Law concern social security, just as for Danes in general. At the Refugee Relief Organization's language school the work is done on the basis of a training model as follows:

Stage I Basic course
Stage II Continuation course
Stage III Finishing course

Progression in the students' knowledge varies widely and the length of time spent by a student at each of the stages in the model therefore varies. Some students can manage with 3 months, while others will perhaps take a whole year to reach stage III.

At stage I instruction is given in elementary Danish language four hours daily.

An attempt has been made, at stage II, to allow for the wide variation in learning-conditions which the participants encounter when the language instruction is arranged with different combinations of methods,namely workshop instruction with language and action closely linked, topic-orientated instruction on the basis of practical situations and traditional instruction in Danish.

At stage III there are various types of courses, arranged according to what the students plan to undertake when they have completed the language course.

Language courses exist which prepare the student for Danish examination 2 of the University-extension organization, which is required for admission to a further training course in Denmark.

In addition, there are language courses which deal with subject areas from the primary school-leaving class, enabling the students then to prepare for the primary school-leaving examination in Danish.

Courses exist also in technical Danish, in which an introduction is given to the language which the students will encounter later in their vocational training or on the labour market. Quite practical technical-language topics are studied throughout the course,and when the student changes over to a new topic, he or she will go off and study it in practice, attending a technical school. A topic of this kind might be the lathe, for example. The basis used is a sound film strip in which the technical teacher gives instruction in the equipment and operation of the lathe. About 500 terms are used in such instruction, one half of them nouns, many verbs and others words which give guidance.

Great advantage is derived in the instruction from breaking up compound words and examining the components, which the students can often recognize from other compounds. Antonyms and synonyms are constructed and official technical designations, workshop designations and jargon terms are studied, with the object quite simply of enabling the refugees to manage within the Danish community.

When the course has been completed, the Danish Refugee Relief Organization gives assistance through a consultant, who follows the progress of the individual. Through the base-year the consultant will make two or three visits to refugees starting a basic trade training course, for example.

The courses of the Danish Refugee Relief Organization are given under legislation concerning general spare-time education, training for semi-skilled workers and literacy-instruction.

EIFL-courses

EIFL-courses - vocational induction courses for the long-term unemployed - are held at "EI-centres" attached to the semi-skilled worker schools around the country. There are special EIFL-courses for immigrants.

EIFL-courses are normally of 16 weeks' duration; but for the courses for immigrants, there is in addition a final 4-week

module with on-job training. The structure of the courses can vary slightly, according to the composition of participants and where they are held in the country, since the component trade-elements can be aimed at local job opportunities.

The structure may be as follows (plan for course held in Copenhagen in the spring of 1981), for example:

2 weeks general subjects
4 weeks cleaning
4 weeks soldering and assembly
4 weeks transport
2 weeks job-seeking

16 weeks actual course
+ 4 weeks on-job training

Total: 20 weeks

The students work through the course with integrated Danish instruction linked to the trade subject for the period concerned. Two teachers are used, to some extent (up to 3 hours daily), with the teacher of Danish in attendance at some of the trade instruction.

Semi-skilled worker courses

Semi-skilled worker courses are not especially for immigrants, but are specifically vocation-orientated series of courses, modular in structure, for workers and unemployed persons. Each

module is usually of 1-3 weeks' duration. In order to improve the job opportunities for the immigrants, where applicable they are recommended to take courses of this kind after completing the EIFL-course. The immigrants frequently have difficulties due to linguistic and possibly cultural factors here. No precise information exists on the numbers of immigrants attending these courses, which are probably used less by immigrants than by Danes and the percentage of completed courses is probably lower for the immigrants ('Forskellighed', No.4, 1983).

Other courses

A number of other types of courses have appeared in very recent years in connection with measures to promote employment. Thus, in Århus County,pilot courses have been established for groups of adults who are especially threatened, including immigrants, in conjunction with 7-months' job offers for chronically unemployed persons within the county borough (periodical 'Forskellighed', pp. 20-21, No.4, 1983). Those attending the course are paid as unskilled labourers or as cleaning assistants during a course lasting 8-13 weeks, 40 hours a week, and are then placed in jobs in county institutions or projects. Finance is provided by a combination of national and county funding. These courses for immigrants take place with the sexes segregated and a close relationship between instruction in Danish and job offers, with a view to motivating immigrants to seek further qualification - through single-trade courses for adults, for example.

In addition, there are more general courses in Danish for foreigners, arranged under the regulations concerning spare-time adult education (Ministry of Education order No.329 of 11 July 1983). Grants are provided for such courses, in accordance with detailed criteria, normally with the central government and the local authority each providing one-third, the remaining one-third being met by the initiator.

A current survey

The Ministry for Home Affairs is currently having a survey made concerning instruction in Danish for adult immigrants. The provisional results show that in 1981-82 a good 29 000 immigrants were enrolled for instruction in Danish; but this includes an unknown number of persons who were registered with several different enrolments.

The total expenditure cannot be calculated exactly, but some estimates exist for 1981-82. The Directorate for labour-market training schemes had expenditure amounting to 4.5 million kroner, the counties approx. 3 million kroner, general spare-time education expenditure on teachers and leaders under 1 million kroner, while expenditure under special instruction amounted to more than 50 million kroner.

The teachers for immigrants are in all cases younger (25-40 years old) and mostly female. The majority were born in Denmark

and in many cases have had advanced theoretical training;they have usually taken courses relevant to teaching of immigrants and about one-half have taken a general teacher-training course

3.3 Conditions in work and in unemployment

Conditions for immigrants with regard to work and unemployment broadly conform to the pattern that we saw in earlier sections of this report, with the conditions for immigrants from Scandinavia, the EC-countries and North America not differing very much from the conditions for the population as a whole, while the conditions for immigrants from third countries are markedly different from them.

Work

A survey of the working situation for foreigners in Denmark (Fig.3.6) shows that the number of self-employed persons and of management personnel is very small for foreigners from third countries and that the largest category is unskilled labourers. It will be seen from this table that very few foreigners from third countries were pensioners, in 1980; the immigrant population in Denmark is still very young.

Trade-union organization

In the trade-union movement, members' nationality is not recorded and it is not known, therefore, how many immigrants are members of trade unions. However, the majority are probably

Fig. 3.6 Working situation of foreigners, 1980.

(From "Statistik om Indvandrere",1983)

MEN;	Total in gainful employment	Of which: Self-empl.	Assisting spouse	Senior execs.	Other execs.	Skilled	Unskilled	Wage-earners N.A.	Not empl.	Of which empl. pensioners	Total Emp. work-force	Part-time
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)=(1)+(9)	(12)
Nord.U.	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
EC	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	2.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]
N. Am.	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3rd c.	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]
Yugosl	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Turkey	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pakist.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
WOMEN;	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)=(1)+(9)	(12)
Nord.U.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
EC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	3.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. Am.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3rd c.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yugosl.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Turkey	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pakist.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL;	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)=(1)+(9)	(12)
Nord.U.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
EC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. Am.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3rd c.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yugosl.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Turkey	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pakist.	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: Material in "Danmarks Statistik".

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members of a trade union, since statistical surveys show that only 11% of a total of 8 240 unemployed foreigners in 1980 were not insured against unemployment and it rarely happens that people are members of an unemployment insurance fund without at the same time being a member of the associated trade union. For the three major categories of immigrants from third countries, the percentages not insured against unemployment were as follows: Yugoslavia 1.6%, Turkey 1.6% and Pakistan 1.4%, or a total of 58 persons out of 3 672.

There is not a lot of trade-union activity among immigrants, however; only a few are shop stewards or safety representatives. Part of the reason is presumably that barriers to linguistic communication exists here also. The immigrants will perhaps have learned sufficient Danish to manage in their ordinary, everyday activities; but it is a big step from this to making good on an equal footing in trade-union work.

Unemployment

There is a higher level of unemployment among foreigners than for the population in general. A summary of the situation in 1980 and 1981 can be seen in Fig. 3.7. There is everywhere a marked increase from 1980 to 1981. It will be noted that unemployment is in general higher among foreigners than among Danes. Moreover, it will be seen that unemployment is particularly high for Turks and Pakistanis. Unemployment among

Fig. 3.7. Unemployed foreigners, converted into full-time unemployed as a percentage of insured foreigners, in 1980 and 1981. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere, 1983)

	1980			1981		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Nordic Union	12,6	12,2	12,4	15,4	13,1	14,0
EC	14,4	14,0	14,3	19,6	16,6	18,3
Yugoslavia	13,3	18,6	15,7	21,1	22,9	21,9
Turkey	21,8	32,7	25,1	32,0	41,3	34,8
Pakistan	20,1	29,5	23,3	24,7	34,0	27,9
T o t a l	16,2	18,4	17,0	21,3	20,4	21,0
Denmark	8,9	10,9	9,8	12,3	11,3	12,1

women is in general higher than among men and this is the case especially for women who are Turkish or Pakistani citizens.

The Turks show in all cases the poorest training-background and the Pakistanis the best, and the relevant figures are reflected to some extent in the employment situation for the groups concerned.

It is not by chance that the summary overviews of immigrant unemployment in this report do not go back further in time. Separate records of foreign unemployed persons only began to be kept a few years ago.

Fig. 3.8. Unemployed young foreigners between 17 and 24 years of age,/(From "Statistik om Indvandrere",1983)

1981.

	Number aged 17-24	Jobless aged 17-24	Jobless (%)	Number aged 17-24	Jobless aged 17-24	Jobless (%)	Number aged 17-24	Jobless aged 17-24	Jobless (%)
Nordic Union	3.109	371	12,3	1.330	107	7,9	1.[illegible]	218	12,1
EC	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	201	11,1	1.522	107	7,0
N. America	1.012	47	[illegible]	639	39	6,0	565	21	3,7
3rd countries	6.976	1.331	19,0	3.414	720	20,6	3.492	612	17,5
Yugoslavia	811	126	15,5	299	53	15,1	662	73	15,8
Turkey	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	20,1	1.[illegible]	442	28,5	1.298	358	27,7
Pakistan	694	93	14,9	256	53	17,9	358	45	12,5
T o t a l	14.415	2.002	13,8	7.097	1.047	14,7	7.318	954	13,0
Denmark	590.4156	7.734	11,4	302.510	32.510	10,7	288.606	35.223	12,2

Source: Material in "Danmarks Statistik".

Unemployment among young immigrants (17-24 years of age) is of special interest for this report, and this unemployment is entered in Fig. 3.8 as the total number and as the percentage of the number within the age-range 17-24 years who are in the various categories of immigrants, and also in comparison with the total population of young people in Denmark.

It may perhaps be surprising that the level of unemployment in general is lower for the young immigrants than for the immigrant categories and population as a whole. This does not mean that fewer young persons are unemployed; it is due to the fact that far from all of the young unemployed are registered with the unemployment insurance funds.

3.4 The family situation

The family pattern of immigrants often differs so much from the Danish pattern that this very cultural aspect must become crucial for the problems with which the young immigrants are faced in their life in Denmark - also regarding conditions of training and education. This section contains a brief outline of some of the features relating to this family situation; other features I have considered to be more appropriately put in the other sections of the report. Thus, the specific problems that are encountered by young female immigrants will be discussed in sub-section 3.7.

In 1981 there were found to be just under 30 000 married couples with at least one of the married partners of foreign nationality, as will be seen from Fig. 3.9. It will be noted in this table that, in the case of the Nordic countries, these are most often couples in which only one of the partners - usually the woman - is Danish. For third countries, by far the majority of the marriages have been between partners from the same third country; but there is a total of about 5 000 married couples in which one partner (most often, by far, the woman) is a Danish citizen, while the other is from a third country.

Fig. 3.9. Number of married couples in which at least one of the partners was an alien, as at 1 January 1981. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

MEN:

WOMEN:	Denmark	Nordic Union	EC	North America	Turkey	Pakistan[1]	Yugoslavia	Other 3rd countr.	Total
Denmark	.	1.[illegible]	3.723	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nord.Union	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	[illegible]
EC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
N.America	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Turkey	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pakistan[1]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yugoslavia	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other 3rd countries	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
T o t a l	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Note.: As at 1 January 1981 there was a total of 1 152 262 married couples in Denmark. In 29 925 couples, or 2.6%, there was at least one alien. In 10 507 couples, or 0.9% of all married couples in Denmark and 35.1% of all marriages including aliens, both partners were foreigners.

The number of children for the individual households, by nationality, is entered in Fig. 3.10. The distinctly larger number of children in households from Pakistan and Turkey will be noted here. Special computations concerning fertility show that among immigrants from third countries this is from two to three times higher than the average Danish fertility rate.

Fig. 3.10. Number of children per family, by nationality. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	Nationality of the cohabitants							
						Of which		
	Mixed couple	Nordic Union	EC	North Am.	Third countries	Pakis-tan	Tur-key	Yugo-slavia
Number of children:								
0 children	4.[illegible]	2.107	251	108	1.462	186	427	[illegible]4
1 child	4.114	2.157	215	52	1.774	216	663	617
2 children	4.326	2.544	294	37	2.152	350	727	507
3 children	1.093	748	103	12	1.282	319	572	157
4 children	223	127	22	3	727	182	375	44
5 children	32	27	3	0	370	108	182	13
>5children	12	7	4	1	189	62	100	0
Av.number children per family	1,24	1,32	1,23	0,85	2,00	2,43	2,26	1,35

Note: Co-habitation also embraces "paperless" situations (30 678 couples in all). Only "clean" situations regarding foreign papers are included.

Source: Material in the Ministry for Home Affairs.

Notes: 1) Incl. Pakistanis with a British passport and born in Pakistan.

Problems of contact

A most important aspect of the immigrant family pattern for third countries is isolation, closeness. The family forms a microcosm whose contact with the world outside is governed by specific rules which allow intercourse with members of other families only in certain circumstances - as far as the female members are concerned, at any rate.

So long as the family was living in its homeland - usually among the rural population - these restrictions were not felt to be constricting bands. In the Danish host country, however, the immigrants live principally in the cities and the original "extended families" are split up, often resulting in a very isolated existence, especially for the women.

In many cultures, the social rules prohibit a woman from moving outside the home without being accompanied by her husband or by a male relative. And since the husband - who has usually emigrated by himself - has in many cases a job which requires him to be working away from home all day, the wife is tied to the home and cannot go anywhere, either alone or with her (small) children. As a result, the women do not have the contact with other women which they had in their homeland and which enabled them to thoroughly discuss all of the problems.

Reduced contact between the women and the community around them results in, among other things, lack of knowledge of many matters, such as opportunities for birth control, for receiving medical or social-welfare assistance, educational matters and opportunities for additional education or training. Moreover, the isolation of the wife leads to even greater dependence upon the husband, who is in many cases the person with the authority to take decisions concerning the relations of the family with the world outside - which is no longer offset, in

the nuclear family, by the intensive social life of the extended family, with its many areas in which decisions are left to the women.

The dependence upon the husband is often further emphasized by the fact that the wife neither speaksnor understands Danish, which is why the husband usually acts as the interpreter.

These problems within the family leave their mark upon the lives of the children. The life of small children is in many instances without adequate communication with others, and this sometimes results in passive, unstimulated children,who are inhibited not least in their linguistic development and who may find it difficult later on to manage among other children. The bigger children and juveniles often have problems of identity owing to the conflict between the norms within the home and in school and the community as a whole around them.

The family and education

For some categories of immigrants, it is contrary to their cultural norms to allow girls to attend school longer than the age of 12-13,and they therefore come into conflict with the Danish requirement of nine years' education for all children.

The prevailing attitudes towards education of the boys are

characterized by two opposed viewpoints. Either the family sees an advantage in allowing the boys to be educated and thus have a greater chance of obtaining well-paid work, or else the family is interested in getting them into a job as quickly as possible, so that they can contribute towards the family income - usually with a view to saving, if the dream of eventually going home is preserved.

On the Danish side there can be a tendency to see immigrants from third countries as a cultural unit; but there are many features, of course - also regarding family matters - which differ widely among the immigrants from the various countries, and this diversity is significant for the types of problems that arise for young immigrants.

The Pakistani family pattern

The typical picture of the Pakistani immigrant family is as follows. The father will have immigrated first. He works hard and saves money to enable him to pay for the journey for his wife and children who come some years later. The change in the country of residence brings changes in role assignment within the family. The mother undertakes work outside the home - in the beginning, at least - while for the older girls a quite difficult situation arises, since they are now required to assume a responsibility for the smaller children, which in their homeland - partially, at least - would have rested upon adult members of the extended family. Since the family is rarely together, the parents perhaps do not experience these stresses.

With regard to upbringing, the family pattern is strongly patriarchal, with the father as the dominant force, taking most of the decisions himself and demanding absolute obedience from the children. Everything from the children's side which conflicts with the parents' attitudes - the father's convictions and opinions, in particular - is stopped and punished.

The Pakistani immigrants in Denmark represent a number of different language groups, causing problems with regard to the mother-tongue instruction which they require in Denmark. This instruction is given in Urdu, the official language of the country; but the young immigrants will possibly speak a quite different language with their family.

The great majority of adult male Pakistanis can communicate verbally in English, and some of them have long schooling behind them; but this is not true of the women, who therefore often feel very isolated.

The Turkish family pattern

A survey in connection with the EC-project mentioned earlier (see sub-section 3.1), in Odense, provides the following picture of the family pattern for Turkish immigrants.

The fathers will have immigrated about seven years before the

wife's arrival. They have from one to eight children - four, on average - and all of the children of school age attend school. Contact with the homeland is regularly maintained; they write letters and telephone, and nearly all of them take holidays every year or every two years in Turkey.

They are Muslims and celebrate the same festivals as in their homeland. In eleven out of eighteen families they live as in Turkey. In six families, Danish customs will have begun to be adopted, and in one case where the man has married a Danish woman the husband lives as they do in Denmark. In general, there is little participation in Danish community life; the immigrants follow it a little through television and a few take part in trade-union work. They take a very favourable view towards the children's schooling, all of them wishing the children to learn as much as possible, and the attitude is very favourable regarding instruction in Danish. General satisfaction exists with the school activity as a whole.

The Yugoslav family pattern

The Yugoslav immigrant families embrace four language groups, namely Serbo-Croat, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. The largest number come from Macedonia.

Interaction with the home district is very intensive, and in many cases families continue to own both houses and land in

the home country and the money that they earn in Denmark is invested in construction projects in Yugoslavia. It is very common for some family members by turns to reside in the home district to attend to various tasks.

The relationship with school is very good. Families in most cases support the children's school-work - which may be due to some extent to the families often working towards the day when they can return to their homeland, and also to the Yugoslav authorities requiring presentation of documentation on the scope of the Danish schooling.

A typical feature of this immigrant group is also that club activity is more alive and that gatherings with the language group as a whole are organized.

3.5 Housing situation

The male immigrants who came to Denmark some years before their families joined them were accommodated in rooms or flats,in which they lived with three or four immigrants to each room.

Until the new Law concerning aliens was passed in 1983, it was a required condition for getting a wife and children into Denmark that the male immigrant should have "suitable accommodation", defined as follows:

a) A separate flat can be considered suitable only if there are not more than 2 persons to each habitable room.
b) A single room can be considered suitable for one person or for a married couple without children.
c) Two or more single rooms without their own kitchen and toilet cannot be considered suitable for one family with children.

These conditions were difficult to satisfy if the family was of a certain size; in particular, it could be difficult to find "suitable accommodation" in the cheaper districts in the old urban areas. The family would therefore move out into the more expensive subsidized housing on the outskirts of Copenhagen and the large provincial towns.

Then, when the family had lived in this country for the period of time that was required in order to obtain a residence permit for an unlimited time, it would perhaps move from the expensive flat and into the old, low-cost flats - which were not infrequently ready for clearance and redevelopment - in the inner city areas. Immigrant families belonging to the same language group often settled together here in the same district.

The concentration of immigrants from the third countries is particularly high today in certain areas of the Copenhagen region. These are typically the old city centre in Copenhagen, as shown in chapter 2, Fig. 2.9.

Housing quality

On the basis of the above information, one would expect the immigrants to be over-represented in the completely new and in the old housing areas. This is to some extent in accord with the statistical table in Fig. 3.11.

It will be seen here that immigrants from Pakistan and Yugoslavia are over-represented in the old housing (pre-1939) and that the Turks are over-represented in the completely new housing areas (1970-1980), whereas immigrants in general are under-represented in comparison with households as a whole in Denmark, in the housing dating from the intermediate years (1940-1969).

Fig. 3.11. Distribution of households from the three major immigrant-countries, between housing dating from different periods of erection. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	Turkish	Pakistani	Yugoslav	All households in Denmark
-1939	37%	53%	53%	42%
1940-1969	25%	24%	28%	37%
1970-1980	37%	23%	19%	22%

Source: "Danmarks Statistik".

A survey of the interior equipment in the housing shows that

immigrants are much worse off in this respect than the population as a whole (Fig.3.12). Moreover, the immigrant families have far more children than the Danish families and therefore have a special need for reasonable sanitary conditions.

Fig. 3.12. Housing interior equipment in 1980 for the three major immigrant-countries, compared with Danish households as a whole. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

	Turkish	Pakistani	Yugoslav	All households in Denmark
Own bath	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Own toilet	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Central heating	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: "Danmarks Statistik".

The large immigrant families are shown in a table of housing occupation-density (Fig. 3.13), which shows that about one-quarter of the immigrant families live more than two persons to a room, whereas this is the case for only one per cent of the total number of households in Denmark.

Fig. 3.13. Occupation-density of foreign households in 1980. (From "Statistik om Indvandrere", 1983)

Residents per room	Turkish	Pakistani	Yugoslav	All households in Denmark
2 or more	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
between 1 and 2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
less than 1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
unspecified	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
T o t a l	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: "Danmarks Statistik".

3.6 Integration?

Adaptation, assimilation, integration - these are three words which have been used by turns and randomly to designate the process which,in some quarters, it is desired that immigrants should undergo after their arrival in Denmark, and in some quarters is not desired.

The words are related to one another, from the standpoint purely of meaning; but they represent attitudes towards immigrants as factors within the Danish community, which are disparate in very important respects.

By "adaptation" is usually meant that the immigrants must change themselves, their behaviour and their social and other

codes, in order that they should not be felt by Danes to be "foreign bodies".

By "assimilation" is meant a process whereby immigrants are, so to speak, absorbed by the Danish community, while at the same their social and cultural codes come to resemble those of the Danes as closely as possible.

By "integration", on the other hand, is meant usually a process which results in immigrants functioning within the Danish community on an equal footing with the Danes, without, however, requiring either to abandon or to change their cultural characteristics; they join the Danish community, retaining their identity. Naturalization is conceived by many people as a kind of proof of completed assimilation or integration. With it, the immigrant renounces his original nationality and becomes - on paper and in law - a Dane. However, it is not quite so simple as this. It is quite true that in some cases a veritable "sloughing-off" takes place, whereby the naturalized immigrant comes to feel Danish, to think like a Dane and to adopt Danish customs and acquire a circle of Danish acquaintances. In other cases, however, something of the old self will remain even after naturalization, causing the naturalized immigrant still to feel "different". And he does not alter his appearance by acquiring Danish citizenship. A Pakistani can certainly feel that he is a Dane; but the Danes will in many instances continue to regard him or her as alien - i.e. again as "different".

Problems of language

As mentioned several times already in this report, Denmark has no traditions as a country of immigration. In the last few years, therefore, an attempt has been made to build up a basis for the instruction of immigrants which is partially founded upon theories and practical experience from other countries. The question is, however, how far the experience gained in countries with a different background of language and culture can be applied to the Danish situation.

Not one of the least important sources is studies of the situation in Sweden - a country which is close to Denmark in language and culture and where much more tradition exists in the handling of immigrant-matters - which have been made by Danish researchers and practitioners of foreign-language teaching.

The greatest problems of language arise for the immigrant who has to learn the new language as an adult. There will sometimes be such great differences between the respective structures and structural principles of the two languages,that the immigrant experiences great problems of communication.

However, it is not only the language of the new country that causes problems. Even more serious is perhaps the fact that a number of cases have been found in Sweden where break-down of the immigrants' mother-tongue takes place, even in cases

when they continue regularly to use the mother-tongue. It is not very clear what the reason for this is; intensive learning of the new language possibly plays a part.

Bilingual - semi-lingual - non-lingual

The ideal situation for young immigrants who grow up in Denmark is for them to become bilingual - i.e. to learn Danish to the same extent as their Danish fellow-students, in addition to retaining and developing further their mother-tongue.

But there is a risk of immigrant children becoming "semi-lingual", by which is understood that they do not achieve full command of either the language of immigration or the language of their homeland; they have only two "half-languages". Such a situation is difficult to rectify and the children concerned will be handicapped, compared with their Danish fellows, throughout their upbringing.

The most serious result of semi-linguality is that it causes the children concerned to become "half human beings", having only two half-languages, while their cultural ballast - their cultural background - will also be reduced, so that they have two half-cultures as well as two half-languages.

In the worst case, the immigrant child will become what can be called "non-lingual". Both languages - the mother-tongue

and the language of the new country will then be at a very rudimentary stage and in the more complicated situations the child will perhaps have non-lingual reactions, as well as behaving violently.

Theories on language-teaching

The teaching of the language to immigrants can take place in accordance with three general principles, as follows:

1. The immersion principle, under which all of the students start on the same basis, with little or no knowledge of the language of the country of immigration, the teacher being bilingual.
2. The submersion principle, under which students for whom the language being taught is foreign join a class with students for whom the language is their mother-tongue. The teacher is mono-lingual and the language being taught is his or her mother-tongue.
3. The maintenance principle, under which the language taught is the mother-tongue of all of the students and the teacher is bilingual.

The immersion principle has been used - apparently with favourable results - in Canada and the USA, for example. It is the guiding principle for instruction in Danish in reception classes (see sub-section 3.1). This principle does not play a very big role at national level, because the immigrant population is in

many places so diverse in composition that it would be difficult, practically and financially, to form reception classes of immigrant children with the same mother-tongue.

The submersion principle is the predominant principle for the instruction in Danish of immigrant pupils in primary school. Firstly, in many instances too few of these pupils exist for the local authority to establish reception classes, and secondly, after a few months,or a couple of years at most, the pupils are assigned to mixed classes which they attend together with Danish pupils, and at that time they do not yet speak Danish fluently.

The maintenance principle is often recommended by Scandinavian researchers under the designation of the "language-protection principle", because the child's mother-tongue is protected against destruction. It has been applied successfully in Sweden, particularly among children of the Finnish immigrant group. It has not been applied in Denmark, where the groups of immigrants are much more diverse in composition than in Sweden. In most of the municipalities only a few children have the same mother-tongue. Instructing them systematically over a period of up to several years on and in their mother-tongue would necessitate a large teaching staff, for which the finance simply has not been forthcoming and, in particular, the political will to have them trained and appointed.

Danish as a foreign language

The special problem is encountered,in the teaching of immigrants, that Danish as a foreign language is virtually a completely unexplored area. Until recently, there have been so few persons learning Danish without having it as their mother-tongue,that there has been no question of detailed investigation of the structures of the language from this aspect.

Just in the last few years, research work has been started in Danish as a foreign language, and this is taking place in conjunction with the teaching of this discipline, both at universities and at the Danish Teacher-Training College.

Research on immigrants was made an area for relevant measures by the National Council for Sociological Research (Statens samfundsvidenskabelige forskningsråd)for the period 1983-87 (15), and one of the areas for which grants are made is Danish as a foreign language.

Practical problems

It has already been mentioned that the geographical distribution of young immigrants is in any case a contributory cause of non-establishment of national classes, which is a prerequisite for the implementation of maintenance programmes in the teaching of immigrant pupils.

As mentioned earlier, mother-tongue instruction takes place outside the normal primary-school instruction, and the number of languages which have to be taught poses great problems. In Denmark, 33 languages are taught, as follows:

Albanian for Yugoslavs
Arabic
Bantu
English
Ewe
Farsi (Persian)
Finnish
Flemish (for Belgians)
French
Faroese
Greek
Greenlandic
Hindi/Punjabi
Dutch
Italian
Icelandic
Japanese
Chinese
Luganda
Macedonian for Yugoslavs
Polish
Portuguese
Serbo-Croat
Slovak
Spanish
Spanish for Latin Americans
Swedish
Turkish
Turkish for Yugoslavs
German
Urdu
Hungarian
Vietnamese

The immigrant children sometimes have "mother-tongue instruction" in a language other than the one spoken within the family. Thus, one-half of the Turkish pupils to the east of the Great Belt[1] are Kurds, with Kurdish as their mother-tongue; but they have instruction in the official language, Turkish.

1) I.e. the channel between the Danish islands of Funen and Sealand. (Translator's Note)

With regard to the Yugoslavs, most of them residing in Denmark are from the southern part of the country. The smallest number of them have Serbo-Croat as their actual mother-tongue; nevertheless, most of them have mother-tongue instruction in this language.

Another practical problem is that immigrant children have a widely varying knowledge of Danish. It has thus been estimated that within the borough of Copenhagen 40% of the foreign-language-speaking children in the kindergarten classes have command of Danish, while 30% speak some Danish and 30% no Danish at all. Of the immigrant children starting in the 1st class, on average about one-half can follow the teaching in a normal Danish class without further action being necessary; but this proportion of the immigrant children varies widely from place to place, as much as from one-fifth to almost three-quarters.

Special practical problems concerning languages are involved with adult immigrants, who often need interpreting assistance in their contact with Danish authorities.

In the Ministry for Social Affairs, a free telephone interpreting service is in operation during the hours of 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. and one evening a week. In addition to these times of operation, in all of the hospitals in the country special

telephone interpreting assistance is available for the casualty ward and for acute admissions. Both services are are available for the first-aid scheme (laegevagtordningen).

An interpreter-training scheme is in operation at the School of Business Studies (Handelshøjskolen) in Copenhagen, to meet the need for interpreters between the immigrant languages and Danish.

3.7 Young female immigrants

The particularly difficult situation of female immigrants has already been discussed briefly in various connections. The difficulties relate to both childhood, youth and adulthood.

Crisis of identity

The immigrant women who came here as adults - typically after the husband had established himself in Denmark - have great problems in the form of isolation in their everyday life and the lack of integration in the Danish community. However, they do have a previously-developed sense of identity as a basis. Both Danish and foreign studies show that those women who have achieved primary and secondary socialization in their homeland have an opportunity to develop a stable cultural role, whereas those who have emigrated early or who were born in the host-country are exposed to greater risk of conflicts of identity. It is pointed out that one particularly threatened category of immigrants is the girls aged 13-16 years. We do not know enough their problems and experiences.

A Kurdish writer living in Sweden, Mahmut Baksi, expresses the identity crisis of young immigrant-women as follows:

> "Just look at the Turkish girls 13-16 years old. Their clothes and behaviour reflect a mixture of the Swedish and Turkish communities, i.e. something or other in between Sweden and Turkey ... both trousers and dress together, both leather jacket and head-scarf..." (19).

Worst of all is perhaps the situation for the young immigrant girls who are brought here as the daughters-in-law of the sons of immigrant families. The average age for marriage in Turkey is 17.7 years, for women; the daughters-in-law are thus very young when they come to Denmark and they often live with their in-laws, partly for reasons of tradition and partly for financial and practical reasons. These young women seem to have a very difficult life; they are young and live far away from their own family and feel that they are inferior to their in-laws who are familiar with the new country. They are therefore alienated and placed lowest within the hierarchy of the new family.

Training-measures

Training-measures are extremely necessary for the young immigrant women, if they are to be able to create a livelihood for themselves in Denmark. This applies to training for all "four lives", namely family life, community life, working life and leisure life.

So long as the girls are small, the problems are hardly any greater than for the boys, apart from the fact that a contribution from the girls to the daily work in the home is required at an early stage.The actual problems appear at the age of puberty (12-13 years), and this is particularly noticeable in a community such as the Danish, with free mixing between the young of both sexes.

The parents will then typically be uninclined to allow the girls to take part in activities which either bring them into contact with young people of the other sex, or conflict in some other way with the norms of the homeland for young women's conduct.

The parents therefore often try to prevent the girls from attending for school subjects such as gymnastics, singing,etc., and they demand that all contact with the boys from the school shall cease the moment they are outside the school building. They not infrequently insist upon taking the girls away from school when they reach the age of puberty. In some cases the only possibility for providing equal training opportunities for girls and boys would be for positive special treatment to be organized from the Danish side, in the form of instruction under especially "protected" conditions for the young female immigrants.

Both Pakistani and Turkish immigrant families react against

education of the girls in Denmark; but the Pakistani girls are to a great extent sent back to their homeland, whereas the Turkish girls mostly remain in Denmark after being taken away from school.

A women's school for immigrant women aged between 16 and 24 years has been established under the youth school of the Copenhagen city council. The instruction covers Danish and social subjects, and also optional subjects such as needlework, domestic science, food and hygiene.

The labour-market training schemes (see sub-section 3.2) have courses for long-term unemployed persons which are especially for young female immigrants, and on some of these courses women only are admitted.

In addition, there are a number of measures based upon the facilities provided for in Law No.301 of 8 June 1978 concerning special instruction for adults, and in the general legislation concerning spare-time classes.

Work

In so far as the immigrant women succeed in obtaining work at all, it is typically hard, dirty and work that is dangerous to health that they are offered. In the difficult situation in which they find themselves,they tend to continue the work,

even when occupational ailments such as back injury or allergy have appeared.

Unemployment

Many of the immigrant women come from a rural environment, and life without the rhythmic cycle of day, month and year governed by agriculture's own rhythm results in disorientation in space and time for them. This causes these women to be hit even harder by a situation of unemployment in the city, and the risk of unemployment for this very category of the population is especially high , as will be seen from Fig.3.8 in sub-section 3.3. It will be noted that unemployment is very high for immigrant women from third countries,compared with women in general in Denmark. The situation is worst for Turkish and Pakistani women.

More and more of the immigrant women are entering the labour market; but at the same time the older girls are kept at home, away from school,to look after their smaller brothers and sisters, thereby pushing further problems onto the next generation, because the girls do not get the training that is necessary for them to manage in the Danish community and on the Danish labour market.

In a survey from the Secretariat for training measures to combat unemployment (SVUA), a number of factors are summarized

which reinforce one another and prevent the immigrant women from getting away from their weak position on the labour market:

- They do not speak Danish well.
- They have no vocational training and also, in many cases,have a very incomplete general education (whether they have grown up in Denmark or in their homeland).
- Owing to their cultural norms, they try to find preferably training or work with the least possible contact with men.

4. Conclusion

There have been signs in the very last few years of a readiness on the official side to acknowledge that the immigrants are not merely "guest workers", but form a more permanent part of the population in Denmark, and that a need therefore exists for more systematic treatment of the problems of immigrants. This can be illustrated by a few data:

1981: Ministry of Education publishes a report on the teaching of foreign language-speaking pupils in primary school.

1981: An immigration office is established under the Ministry for Home Affairs.

1983: Research on immigrants is designated a special area for measures of sociological research in the years 1983-87.

1983: Ministry for Home Affairs publishes a collection of statistics on immigrant matters.

1983: A new Law concerning aliens comes into force.

Danish policy on immigrants is declared to be a policy of integration, in accord with the official description of the EC policy on minorities and immigrants.

In the European context, the immigration policy pursued in Denmark and Sweden was praised recently at a meeting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. It was emphasized as a good step that these two Scandinavian countries should have introduced the right for immigrants to vote in local elections and support for the formation of clubs by immigrants.

4.1 Of what does an integration policy consist?

An integration policy involves, as a necessary element, a large-scale effort to teach the immigrants Danish, so that they have a real chance to join in the life of the community.

Another requirement is to strengthen the means to enable the immigrants to preserve their own culture, so that there is no talk of assimilation with the Danish community, to the exclusion of their own homeland culture.

Finally, a genuine integration policy must also include a drive to change the attitude of Danes towards immigrants.

The teaching of Danish

As mentioned earlier, in the last few years a number of projects of research on Danish as a foreign language have been started (see sub-section 3.6). These studies are now already being turned to account in offers of training for immigrant teachers, within both the primary school and general adult education .

Immigrant culture

It can be difficult to provide, on a national scale (see sub-section 3.1) bilingual teachers in primary school with the immigrants'native language as the mother-tongue. However, immigrants are now being trained as primary-school teachers of Danish, in special classes at the Danish teacher-training college, and this can have the dual effect in the primary school of improving the possibilities of preserving immigrant culture and, at the same time, enabling the Danish children to learn about - and certainly also to change their attitude towards - the cultural background which the immigrants bring with them.

The Danish attitude

A characteristic national feature of the Danes, unfortunately, is summed up in the statement: "You must not think that you are something special". In exaggerated form, this is the concept of equality with everyone reduced to the same level, in which beneficial special features must not exist, because they are considered to be a threat to the equality-concept. This

phenomenon is described by the Dano-Norwegian writer, Axel Sandemose, and called "Jantelovens første bud".

Denmark's experience with actual immigration is so brief that the problem of the Danes' intolerance became noticeable only quite recently. It was, in fact, a widespread myth that Danes were especially tolerant towards other cultures and it has now been found that the reason was, rather, that no other cultures existed close to home.

But how can this negative attitude towards other peoples in Denmark be changed? In the longer term, the influence in the primary school, with instruction in other cultural ideas from teachers who originate from the countries of immigrants could become important - and the school pupils' daily mixing with fellow-pupils from these cultures as well, of course.

Another aspect is that the universities are now introducing study subjects in the problems of immigrants and minorities, and this must be expected in the longer term to help to bring about a change of attitude towards immigrants.

Immigrants' experience of the situation

Much has been said in the last few years about policy on

immigrants; but how do the immigrants themselves feel about the situation? This is the subject of a joint Danish and Swedish research project on Yugoslavs in the two countries which is at present in progress.

Swedish and Danish policies on immigrants are very different and the researchers expected to find a more favourable attitude in Sweden towards the country of immigration among Yugoslavs than in Denmark. This has been found not to be the case, and the Yugoslavs feelings about both Scandinavian countries are, it is true, unfavourable.

The most interesting aspect, however, is that this attitude does not seem to be of very much significance for positive integration; the most important factors by far are the immigrant groups' own unity and own forms of organization.

4.2 The situation at the moment

This autumn, interest centring upon the problems of immigrants has become keener. On the one hand, the question has been raised as to whether Denmark should introduce a policy of repatriation, while on the other, an unexpectedly heavy influx of immigrants into the country is being experienced.

Repatriation policy

The Progressive Party has proposed that Denmark, like France

and the Federal Republic of Germany, should offer immigrants a sum of money (25 000 kroner has been mentioned) to return to their homeland. No other political parties appear to support the idea, and management and labour likewise repudiate it. However, the Danish Employers' Association has stated that if the high level of unemployment continues, co-operation under the aegis of the EC might be conceivable, with a view to offering the immigrants a sound training in fields relevant to their homeland, combined with a cash grant for repatriation.

Many refugees

The new 1983 Law concerning aliens (see sub-section 2.2) is to the effect that all refugees seeking asylum are entitled to enter the country and have their case dealt with;previously, they were turned back at the national border. If the refugees satisfy the conditions of the Geneva Convention, they have a right to asylum within the country.

Under the previous, more restrictive, legislation, it was a question mainly of the fixed quota of Convention-refugees; but now there is a steadily increasing influx of unsolicited refugees, primarily from Iraq. Whereas the current quota is 500 refugees annually, the number of applications for asylum this year is expected to be at least 2 000. The cost of integrating 500 refugees is estimated at 60-100 million kroner.

Later in the autumn, the Lower House of Parliament will take a decision on the situation and will discuss possible amendment of the provisions in the Law concerning aliens, back towards a more restrictive policy. The possibility of a tightening of the legislation is not excluded by the non-Socialist parties, although all of the parties, with the exception of the Progressive Party (Fremskridtspartiet), voted in 1983 in favour of the Law concerning aliens now in force.

4.3 A projection to the year 2000 and beyond

A futurological study of the conditions of life for children and youths in Denmark was carried out during 1984-85, financed by the Egmont Fund*. As part of this study, a 20-year projection concerning immigrants from the third countries Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia has been carried out, with the assumptions that mortality for these immigrant groups is the same as for Danes, that their fertility rate remains unchanged and that net immigration is zero.

On the basis of these assumptions, the number of immigrants from the three countries will have risen from 32 494 in 1983

* The Egmont Fund was established in 1920 by the printer Egmont H. Petersen. The Fund regularly receives money from the firm Gutenberghus which, among other things, publishes a number of the weekly newspapers with the widest circulation in Denmark. The futurological study will comprise 5 volumes compiled by various researchers. The results cited here are from the first volume, Jacques Blum: De grimme aellinger (The Ugly Ducklings), Aschehoug 1984.

to 64 502 in the year 2003,i.e. a doubling.

For the new immigrants, the projection gives the following result: whereas 15-19-year-old Turks, Pakistanis and Yugoslavs in 1983 represented 1.1% of the total number of youths in Denmark, in 2003 they will represent 3.0%.

The futurological study has covered only figures for the three nationalities mentioned; but if the same assumptions are taken as given for the other immigrants from third countries, the situation will be as follows: Around the year 2000, 5% of the total population of youths will be from third countries, as against 2% today.

This expected large increase in the number of young immigrants in the next 20 years will make exacting demands upon planning, not least for the sphere of vocational training.

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The bibliography does not aim to be exhaustive. It embraces only the literature which formed directly the basis for compilation of the report. It consists, with a few exceptions, of works published after 1980.

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The book elucidates the development work in teaching that is taking place at the Danish Teacher-Training College within the field of Danish as a foreign language. It is intended as, among other things, an aid to the teacher in the day-to-day teaching situation and discusses research in contrastive linguistics, the teaching of foreign languages and results of teaching immigrant children in school.

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of immigrants in relation to education for a number of years. The book is based upon, among other things, a survey of the situation in a large number of municipalities and discusses cultural and social circumstances, ending with a proposal for the organization of immigrant education.

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CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Vocational training of young migrants in Denmark
Else Koefoed

CEDEFOP Document

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1986 – 117 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7cm

DA, DE, EN, FR

ISBN 92-825-6115-1

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-026-EN-C

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg
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